

Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical
Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, No. 2.

MANGALORE

A HISTORICAL SKETCH

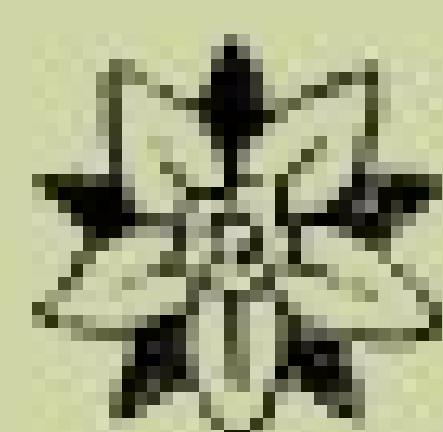
BY

GEORGE M. MORAES

With a Preface

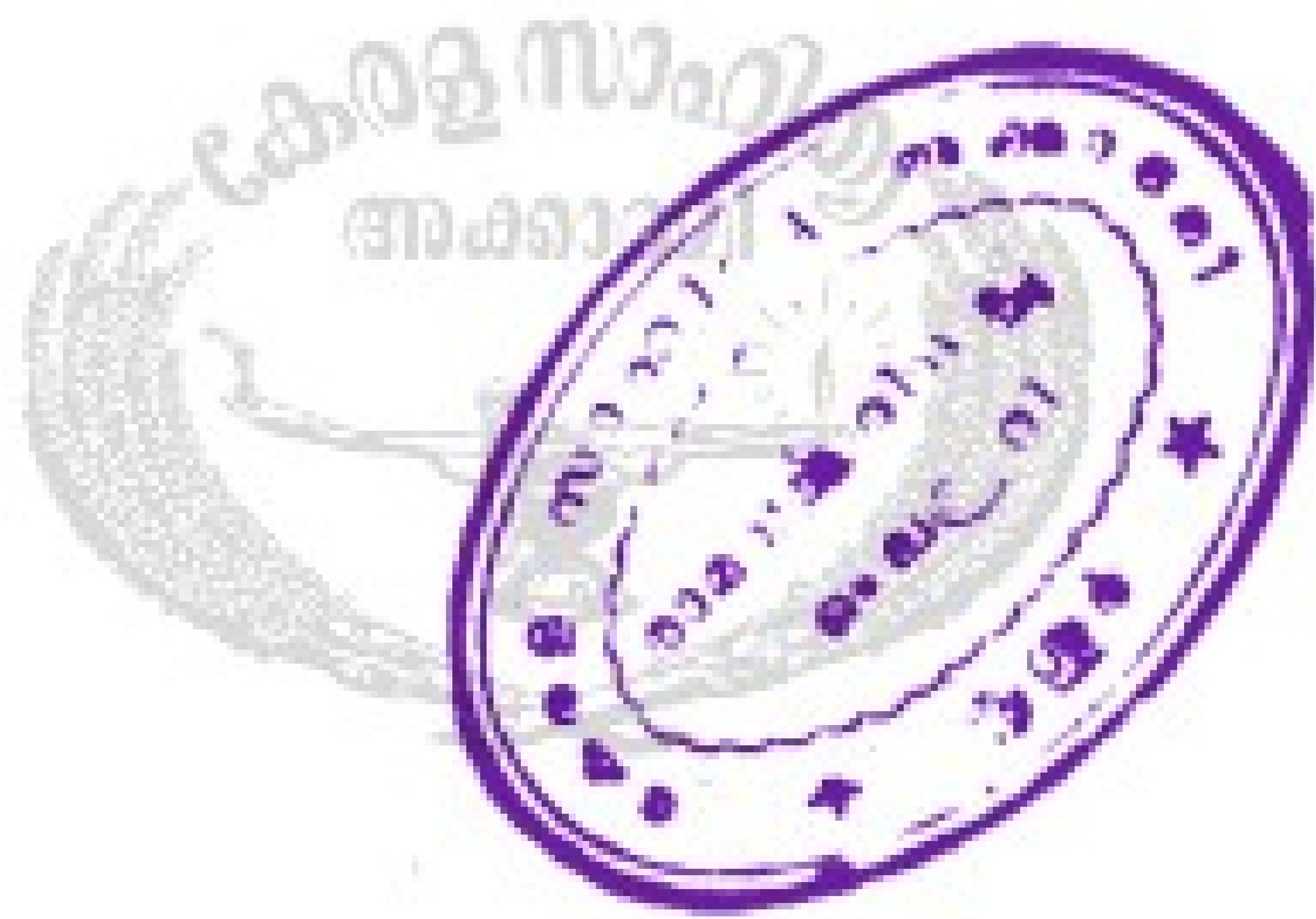
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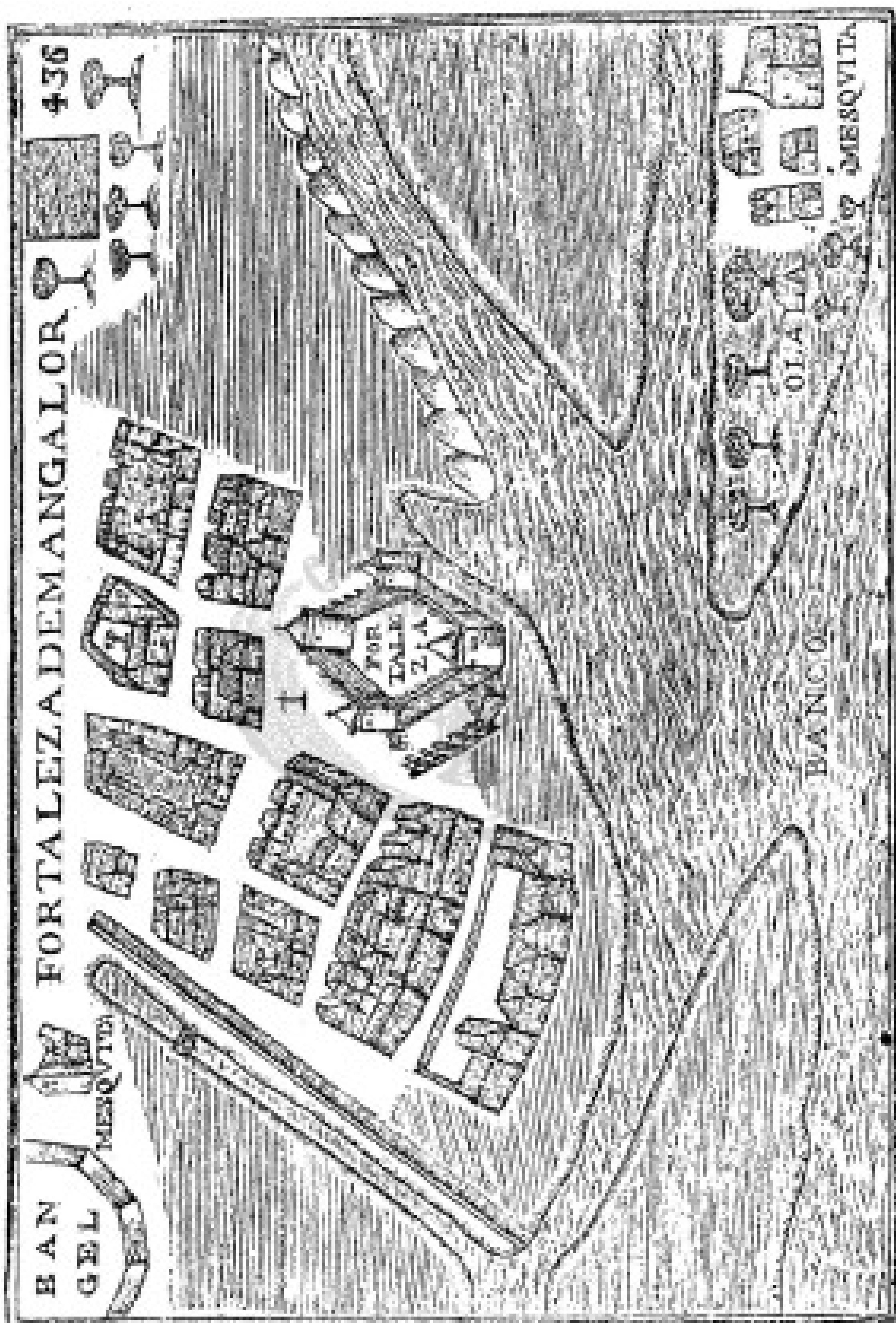
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THE REV. H. HERAS, S. J., M. A.

Professor of Indian History,

Director of the Indian Historical Research Institute,

St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

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P R E F A C E

The present brochure is the first product of the St. Xavier's College 'Indian Historical Research Institute.' For the volume published prior to this would nevertheless have been written, even if this Institute had not been established. This is the work of one of our Research-students. It naturally supposes the guidance of the tutor, as the apples of a garden suppose the gardener's care. But they are finally the fruits of the tree. So also is this work the fruit produced by Mr. George M. Moraes. He has learnt from his tutor how to collect materials, how to connect facts with each other, the discriminative use of authorities, the modern methods of composition. But the result is his own.

I have purposely said that he has been guided by his tutor, not by his professor or lecturer. For if the tutorial system is to be followed in pedagogics, no better occasion offers itself than when coaching a student in conducting some research. Public lectures may be given on historical methodology, on heuristics, on internal and external criticism; but this would be of very little use unless supplemented by private tuition. Research-students must be trained for meeting the difficulties that naturally arise from deeper study; these difficulties must be solved with the documents in hand. Besides other

advantages, this system fosters a spirit of sympathy and fellowship between the tutor and the student, through which a flow of enthusiasm for historical research, originating in the tutor's soul, permeates the soul of the student—a factor absolutely necessary for successful historical work. It cannot for a moment be doubted that historical research is sometimes a dry and tedious work. For deciphering an inscription, or reading an old document written in a shaky hand, or studying two different sources apparently contradictory to one another, such enthusiasm and love of the work are absolutely necessary.

Such intense earnestness is not easy to find in students—hence all the more the merit of this little work. But cheerfulness and fervour are a characteristic of Mr. George M. Moraes. No obstacle can quench his ardour, no trouble can damp his zeal. Actuated by feelings of gratitude, and inspired by loyalty towards his *Alma Mater*, St. Aloysius' College—to which he owes his early education—he has joyfully embraced the opportunity to honour the country that gave him shelter for several years.

This little book is the result of such noble ambition, sustained against tremendous difficulties by dogged industry and unswerving constancy. It goes forth on its glorious errand with my heartiest good wishes for its success.

Henry Heras, S. J.

INDIAN HISTORICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE,
Bombay, St. Xavier's College, October 1, 1926.



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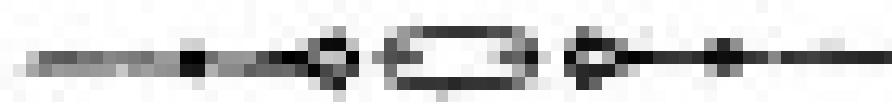
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CHAPTER I

EARLY HISTORY

Viewed from the lofty tower of St. Aloysius' College, the city of Mangalore presents the appearance of a vast cocoanut plantation, interspersed here and there with some rising church spire or a fuming factory chimney. The town at present is the administrative headquarters of the South Kanara District and the home of the captains of industry and commerce of Kanara. Though now a place of considerable importance, its prominence is of very recent origin. Indeed, to the local chiefs of old, inland places like Karkal and Barkur were of more strategical importance than Mangalore, and it is no wonder therefore, if comparatively little is known of her past. But Mangalore,¹ the land of felicity, was not however, long to remain in obscurity. Soon, as civilization improved and men became bolder to fight battles against the elements, wind and sea, she owing to her wonderful facilities for maritime commerce became the principal seaport in Kanara and the centre of industrial and commercial activity.

Yet, in the dark period just referred to, it would not be accurate to say that Mangalore was suffering a total eclipse. Mention of Mangalore, under the name of Mangaruth, has been made in such ancient works as the *Christian Topography*, by Cosmas Indicopleusta, written in the middle of the sixth century. Mangalore is, there spoken of by the ancient traveller as one of the

¹ Maangala (Sanskrit), happiness; uru, place. Mangalore is the Portuguese corruption of Mangaluru or Mangalapura.

five pepper exporting ports of Malabar.¹ Father Paulino da S. Bartolomeo, the Austrian Carmelite friar, who travelled in India in the 18th century, supposes that Mangaruth is the corrupted form of the Greek.² Again the same traveller remarks that the two sovereigns, that held sway in Mangalore in the first century of the Christian era were Saragano and Sandane.³

From the beginning of the Christian era till the arrival to the Portuguese, Mangalore as well as the rest of South Kanara passed under the domination of several Hindu dynasties, the most prominent of which were the Kādambas, the Western Chālukyas, the Ālupa Rajas, the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Hoysālas. Only two records of these ancient rulers of Mangalore have come down to us. Both are of the same sovereign, the Ālupa King, Banki Dēva-Ālupēndra. One mentions a gift of land in the year 1304 A. D. on a pillar in front of the deserted temple of Gollara Ganapati.⁴ The second inscription is on a slab in the court yard of the Mañjunātha temple at Kadri.⁵

The next mention of Mangalore is made in the accounts of the travels of Ibn Batuta, from whom we learn that she had become the centre of many commercial enterprises, carrying on trade even with the inhabitants of the Persian Gulf. This event dates as far back as 1342 A. D.⁶ He tells us he arrived at a place named Manjarun or Mandjaur (Mangalore), which is situated on a large estuary of the

¹ Vale, *Cathay*, I, p. CLXXVIII.

² Fr. Paulino da S. Bartolomeo, *Maggie Alle Indie Orientali*, p. 102.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ 17 of 1901.

⁵ 26 of 1901.

⁶ *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XVII, p. 177.

sea, called the "estuary of the wolf," and which is the greatest estuary in the country of Malabar. He found there a host of merchants from Fars (Persia) and Yemen, and as many as 4,000 Muhammadan traders. The staple commodities of the place were ginger and black pepper. The King, he remarks, was one of the most powerful potentates of Malabar. His name was Rama Dao. Ibn Batuta refers to the fights that often ensued between the Mussulmans and the Hindus which were quelled by the King himself, who was in need of the Muhammadan traders and yet afraid of them on account of their influence. Ibn Batuta gives strange information about one of the prominent Muhammadans, Bedi-eddin-Alambari, a Kadhi, who, he says, was teaching science. We suspect the science he taught was astrology.¹ After Batuta we have no information concerning Mangalore until we come to the 15th century when Abd-r Razzak, the Persian Ambassador, passed through the place on his way to Vijayanagar. Mangalore, he says, is on the borders of the kingdom of Bijanagar, and we may deduce from his narrative that, it being the first station on the way to Vijayanagar, all visitors to that capital had to pass through Mangalore.² This was between the years 1442 and 43. In fact Mangalore was within the borders of the Vijayanagar Empire. Three of its sovereigns, all belonging to the first dynasty, are mentioned in the inscriptions found at Mangalore and its suburbs. The first is Bukka I. At the right of the entrance into the Chakrapani temple at Attavara, Mangalore, there is a slab bearing an inscription

¹ Deshayes—Sangwinetti, *Voyages d' Ibn Batuta*, IV, p. 79-81; Lee, *The Travels of Ibn Batuta*, p. 160.

² Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, IV, p. 103.

of this King under the name of Vira Bukkanna Odeya.¹ This record mentions one Shankaradēva Odeya that seems to be a petty chief under the Vijayanagar rulers with his capital at Barkur.² Bukka's successor, Harihara II has left three inscriptions in Mangalore. One is in the village of Bōlāru.³ The second, in the courtyard of the Manjunatha temple at Kadri, records a gift of land to the temple in 1386.⁴ The third is found in Codialbail itself and mentions another gift of land in the year 1306.⁵ The third Vijayanagar king whose records are found in Mangalore is Dēvarāya II. On a slab lying in front of the Mahalingēvara temple at Pavāñja there is an inscription of the year 1418 mentioning this sovereign as the overlord of Annapa Odeya, who was governing the Mangalūra and Bārakūra Rājya.⁶ This chief must be a descendant of Shankaradēva Odeya who was ruling at Barkur in the time of Bukka I. Another inscription of Dēvarāya II in the year 1419 mentioning one Timmappa Odeya is to be found at Codialbail.⁷ The third is found at Boluru. It mentions one Nagappa Odeya in the year 1425.⁸

Two other inscriptions have been found at Mudabidri that speak of two chiefs of Mangalore. The first is dated 1390, during the reign of Vira Harihara II of Vijayanagar. It mentions Mangarasa Odeya as the governor of Mangalūra-rājya.⁹ The second refers to Dēva-Raja-Odeya, who was ruling the Mangalūra-rājya in 1429 during the reign of the Vijayanagar king, Vira Dēvarāya II.¹⁰

1. 19 of 1901.

2. Cf. Ganapathi Rao, *Ancient History of South Kanara*, p. 131-32.

3. 24 of 1901.

7. 22 of 1901.

4. 27 of 1901.

8. 25 of 1901.

5. 23 of 1901.

9. 25 of 1901.

6. 23 of 1901.

10. 23 of 1901.

CHAPTER II

PORTUGUESE ENTERPRISES

We owe the detailed information about Mangalore in the 16th and the 17th centuries to the early Portuguese historians and travellers. One of the latter, the famous Duarte Barbosa, who visited the Western coast of India in 1514, has left to us the following description of Mangalore and the flourishing state of its trade: "Having left these places," says he, "at ten leagues' distance there is another large river towards the South, along the sea-shore, where there is a very large town, peopled by Moors and Gentiles, of the kingdom of Narsinga, called Mangalor. There many ships always load brown rice, which is much better and more healthy than the white, for Malabar, for the common people, and it is very cheap. They also ship there much rice in Moorish ships for Aden, also pepper which henceforward the earth begins to produce, but little of it, and better than all the other which the Malabars bring to this place in small vessels. The banks of this river are very pretty, and very full of woods and palm trees, and are very thickly inhabited by Moors and Gentiles, and studded with fine buildings and houses of prayer of the Gentiles, which are very large, and enriched with large revenues. There are also many mosques, where they greatly honour Mahomed."¹

The connection of Mangalore with the Portuguese can be traced as far back as 1530, if not earlier. We are told by the Portuguese historians that in 1530 His

¹ Barbosa, *East Africa and Malabar*, pp. 31-33.

Excellency Nuno da Cunha sent Diogo da Silveira to chastise a wealthy "Chetim"¹ of Mangalore, who being in league with the king of Calicut was exporting spices to the detriment of Portuguese trade. Induced by the prince of Chale (Sale), the Governor desired to put an immediate stop to this pernicious smuggling and sent the valiant admiral to scour the coast of Malabar. The Chetim getting intelligence of the intended attack erected some fortifications to guard the entrance to the river, and placed some artillery before his own house. Diogo da Silveira, on approaching Mangalore, left the big vessels behind him, and with the help of small boats made his entrance with only 240 musketeers. To meet this small force a body of soldiers issued forth, the majority of whom were armed with arrows and very few with muskets. This host, as soon as they received the first fire from the Portuguese lines, took to flight. The Portuguese had gained an easy victory, but it was not yet accomplished. The mansion of the Chetim had still to be conquered. Hence the gallant train marched to the merchant's quarters which were stoutly defended. But the Portuguese, taking lathies of iron, successfully forced their way into the house. The Chetim, when he saw his last hope thus frustrated, tried to make his escape by the river, but was killed in the attempt by the discharge of a musket. Diogo da Silveira then set the house on fire, and the valuable merchandise of the Chetim was destroyed in this conflagration.² Faria y Souza mentions another sack of Mangalore by the same admiral in the year 1532. On

¹ Most probably "Shetty or Shet," the surname of the Vaishya caste in Kasara.

² Barros, *Da Asia*, Decada Quarta, Parte I, Livro primeiro, pp. 329 and 404-5; Faria y Souza, *Asia Portuguesa*, I, pp. 283-84.

this occasion, the inhabitants of the town hearing of the approach of the Portuguese fleet, abandoned the city and took shelter on the hills.¹

In 1555 Dom Alvaro da Silveira was nominated admiral of a fleet of twenty-one sail, which had been specially fitted out for service in the sea of Calicut. He was sent against the Queen of Ullal, who had refused to pay the tribute to the Portuguese of Goa. With fire and sword the admiral announced his approach wherever he went. Among the many towns that fell on his ruthless route was the city of Mangalore, with its rich pagoda. But the Zamorin intervening, matters were amicably settled, a treaty of peace was signed, and Silveira returned to Goa.²

In 1558 Dom Constantino de Braganza became the Viceroy of Goa and sent his conquering armies in various directions. Luis De Mello was given charge over the Malabar coast. In 1558 he found a ship in the port of Mangalore, belonging to the king of Cannanore, who was then at enmity with the Portuguese, and lost no time in attacking her. But with the effective aid rendered by the inhabitants of Mangalore she could withstand successfully the Portuguese onslaught. Luis De Mello, incensed at this behaviour of the citizens, reduced the city to ashes and slew whomsoever he met on his triumphant march.³

For a period of five or six years following this event, matters drifted along in an undisturbed manner. The Queen of Ullal seems to have continued regularly to pay the tribute to the Portuguese. But soon there was a collision.

¹ Faria y Souza, I, p. 292.

² Ibid, II, p. 301-2.

³ Ibid, II, p. 329.

As the Portuguese were involved in a war with the Mussulmans of Cannanore, (the "Malabar war") the Queen stopped payment of the tribute. In 1566 the war with Cannanore having come to a close, the Portuguese Viceroy Dom Antão de Noronha made preparations for a war with the Queen of Ullal, Bucadevi Chantar.¹ But previous to his campaign, in September of the year 1567, the Viceroy sent João Peixoto with a fleet of 20 galleons and ten pinnaces to impede the allies of the Queen from helping her in the approaching conflict. The enterprising general, however, did not content himself with the bare work of guarding the entrance but, attempting a coup d'état, he captured the city, and even entered the royal court. But there his men delayed to pillage houses longer than was advisable. The enemy became aware of the disorder and confusion in the Portuguese ranks, and instantly attacked them and killed seventy persons at the first onset. Peixoto himself and many other persons of distinction were numbered among the slain. The rest, finding their position very precarious, disgracefully retired to their ships.

Subsequent to this disaster, the Viceroy started from Goa with seven galleys, twenty galleons and more than twenty-seven pinnaces, thus carrying in all about 3,000 fighting men, determined to bring about the final subjugation of the Queen of Ullal.

This siege of Mangalore has been picturesquely described by Fr. Francisco de Souza, S. J., in his *Oriente Conquistado*, and though much of its beauty and liveliness is lost in our translation, we think it will none the less interest our readers. He says:—"The land forms a tongue-

¹ Bukan Devi Chantar.

like structure, almost the whole of which is sandy, washed by the sea and river on the three sides. At the end of this tongue, covered with palmyra trees the Viceroy landed in the evening. Twelve thousand men with arms and ammunition were defending the city. The passage from the river to the sea was blocked by a wall, defended with some small guns and a considerable number of chosen warriors. On the side of this wall, facing the entrance by which the Viceroy had determined to attack the city, Dom Francisco Mascarenhas encamped himself at a distance little more than a hundred paces. As it was night, they lighted torches and gave themselves whole-heartedly to revelry, as if they were in the palmyra plantations of Goa. The Moors, (Muhammadans) realising our over-confidence (and consequent neglect) took advantage of the darkness of the night to attack the soldiers who were like blind men on account of the torches. Thus, at 10 o'clock about five hundred of them issued forth from the beach and invested the position of Mascarenhas. Before they reached his tent, fifty Portuguese had already been slain. Under the dreadful circumstances of this unexpected onslaught, our soldiers had hardly any time to arm themselves with swords and targets, and were consequently thrown into a deadly fight (pendencia). The darkness of night was so overwhelming that it was impossible to discern friends from foes. The scene presented a deadly confusion. Those who were still in their ships were landing in haste and in disorder. They did not even realize where they were. Those who were stationed in other places did not know in the midst of that turmoil to whom to render help; for in one part of the field the glitter of swords could be seen and on the other the report of cannon could be heard.

"In spite of all this confusion, one and all hurried to the general's quarters, and the Viceroy, being fully conscious of his strength, ordered the blowing of trumpets and marched to the post of Mascarenhas. The latter was assisted by a mere handful of soldiers and, though he had already received five wounds, he was still withstanding with singular fortitude the fury of these blood-thirsty Moors. These retired with great glory a little before the arrival of the Viceroy, who, an expert soldier of India, applied the remedy after the disaster and ordered a ditch to be opened up and a moat to be constructed before the palisades of the Moors, lest they should deliver a second attack. And having finished the work at 1 o'clock after midnight, he returned to his quarters with a heavy heart.

"Notwithstanding these two unlucky incidents, no one presaged ill of the victory, and in the morning of the 5th January (1568) the Viceroy drew up his troops, determined to scale the wall that checked his path and to take possession of the city at any cost. When all were on the point of making the attack, the Viceroy changed his mind and sent word to Dom João Pereira, who led the van, to suspend operations for that day, since on the following one, which was famous among the Christians for the feast of the Epiphany, they intended to attack the Queen.

"This order was reluctantly heard by 200 soldiers that were in front, burning with rage against the Moors for the past insult. No longer able to check their impatience, they rushed furiously against the wall, deaf to the orders of their officers (cabos); and helping one another to climb up, they worked such havoc among the enemy as to compel them to abandon everything and retreat to the city. The

rest followed the impulse of the first. Some advanced towards the wall, the Viceroy himself standing with the standard of Christ by the shore, while Dom Antonio de Pereira landed with more than 500 men. They swept the enemy from the field, and pushing them at the point of the bayonet, entered the city, through different openings; and when all had rallied on a large square (*terreiro*) they halted in order to offer resistance to the six thousand Moors that attacked them in a body with spear and sword. Soon, however, they fled in a rout. On this day some forty of our men must have fallen, a few wounded. The enemy lost more than three hundred. Having set fire to the city and cut down many palm and other groves, the Viceroy retired to the fleet in order to give some rest to the soldiers.¹ On this occasion, we are told by another Portuguese historian,² the Queen fled to a mountain and the victory was complete. Father de Souza goes on to describe how the Viceroy, finding the above mentioned strip of land unsuited to the construction of the intended fortress, crossed over to the northern bank of the river and on a flat elevation commanding the mouth and indeed the whole of the river, he built the fortress of Mangalore. It was named after St. Sebastian, because the first stone was laid on this saint's day. While the fortress was under construction the charity of the friars was responsible for the erection of a hospital, where the sick were given bodily and spiritual attention (*curavam e sacramentavam*).³ The Viceroy appointed Dom Antonio de Pereira, his brother-in-law, captain of the newly built fort.⁴

1 Souza, *Oriente Conquistado* II, pp. 18-19.

2 Faria y Souza, II, p. 438.

3 Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, II, p. 19.

4 Santos, *Etiópia Oriental*, I, p. 292.

In connection with the expedition against the Queen of Ullal, it is interesting to note that three Jesuit Fathers accompanied the Viceroy. Fr. de Souza says that one of them, Fr. João Francisco Estephanio, holding a crucifix aloft, was always marching ahead, encouraging the soldiers to battle.¹

It was in 1569 that the Portuguese again came in contact with Mangalore. On this occasion, the Viceroy Dom Louis de Athaide went to Mangalore as an arbitrator, to put an end to the disputes between the King of Bangher and the Queen of Ullal, as such civil disturbances were prejudicial to the progress of the Portuguese trade. There he was accorded a cordial reception, and success crowned his undertaking.²

But the fiery Queen was always seeking for an opportunity to free herself from the Portuguese control and if possible to undermine their authority in Kanara. Such an opportunity soon presented itself. In 1570 the Portuguese were involved in a great war against the strong coalition of the Sultans of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar and the Zamorin. They had bound themselves to expel the Portuguese from India, and had divided the Portuguese possessions among themselves, even before the commencement of hostilities. According to the contract Mangalore was to be given to the Sultan (sic) of Calicut. Goa was besieged by Adil Shah and Chaul by the Sultan of Ahmadnagar.

Thinking that she could profit by this confusion and hearing that Cutiproca Marca (Kutti Poker Murca), the Zamorin's admiral, was near at hand, the Queen invited him

¹ Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, II, p. 18.

² Faria y Souza, II, p. 479.

to take possession of the Portuguese Fort, which she represented to him as an easy affair, and even offered to defray the expenses. Quite unexpectedly he landed his forces in Mangalore and scaled the walls of the fortress at night. Some servant of Dom Antonio da Pereira, the commander, awakened by the noise, saw the enemy ascending, and threw out of the window the first thing which came to his hand—which happened to be a chest, full of silver—and with it knocked down those who were upon the ladder. By this time some were already on the battlements, and it was with difficulty that the Portuguese were able to overcome these assailants. Meanwhile the others who had got the chest, well gratified with their adventure, made their way to the ships.¹ Thus this first attempt of the Queen to strike at the root of the Portuguese power ended in failure.

Nevertheless she did not desist from her purpose. Some time before 1594 a fortress was built at Ullal in opposition to the neighbouring one of the Portuguese at Mangalore. But at the same time the Queen was proposing terms of peace to the Capitão Mor of Malabar. We find both the items in a letter of the Portuguese Sovereign to his Viceroy, dated Lisbon, May 1st 1594.²

Peace was finally established between the Queen and the Portuguese authorities, an event approved by the King in the letter of 18th February, 1599.³ Another letter of the King, dated the 26th of the same month, informs us that before the final settlement of this peace, the fortress of Ullal had been pulled down. Anyhow the King had

¹ *Farin y Souza*, II, p. 486-549.

² *Arquivo Português Oriental*, III, p. 437.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 473.

been informed "that the fortress had not been thoroughly destroyed, and that in a very few days it could be reconstructed." Accordingly the Sovereign ordered the Viceroy to compel the Queen to raze the walls to the ground.¹ This order was finally carried out by Dom Jeronimo d' Azevedo, while Capitão Mor of Malabar, as is recorded in another letter of the King, dated February 5th, 1597.² Equally unsuccessful was this second attempt of that courageous woman against her powerful enemies.



¹ *Ibid.*, p. 503.

² *Ibid.*, III, 2^a Parte, p. 677.

CHAPTER III

WARS OF VENKATAPPA NĀYAKA

The next period, which extends over a fifty years or more, can very well be called the period of consolidation in the history of Kanara, for it is at this stage of her history that we see a number of Kanarese kings extending their power by bringing under their subjection the petty rulers of the country. One of these, perhaps the most powerful, was the King of Ikeri, Venkatappa Nayaka. It is clear from a letter of the viceroy to the King of Portugal, dated 19th December, 1616, that Venkatappa Nayaka was carrying on with great vigour his campaign for building up his power. The letter of the Viceroy represents him as being already at the gates of Mangalore, threatening to drive out the King of Bangher. The latter, so the Viceroy remarks, prefers rather to send him money (or tribute) in order to avoid war than to spend the same amount in making an alliance with the Portuguese. It is his object, the Viceroy adds, that the Portuguese should declare war against Venkatappa, so that he might profit at their expense, himself remaining in security. The Viceroy concludes by saying that this is the usual conduct of these "negroes."¹

According to this letter of the Viceroy, the Portuguese seem to have been in friendly terms with Venkatappa Nayaka, because of the good returns the pepper trade brought them from his country.²

But this sort of friendship was not destined to last long. The Portuguese could not view with indifference

¹ Ap. No. 1.

² Ibid.

the growing power of the kingdom of Ikeri, which at any time might prove to be a formidable rival. And so in the year 1617 they concluded an alliance with the King of Bangher who, to get rid of his enemy Venkatappa Nayaka, made over the fortress of Bangher to the Portuguese for defence. The fort was duly placed by the Portuguese authorities under the command of one Antanio (sic) de Saldanha. The garrison was subsequently reinforced by Dom Francisco da Menezes de Bacaim (Bassein) who sailed thither with some soldiers and 4,000 escudos¹ (for their payment). Whilst landing they were attacked by the Muhammadans who slew many of them. But when the Portuguese recovered themselves from the surprise, they were able to defeat the enemy thoroughly and in a subsequent fight many 'Canaries' were slain.²

In August of the same year the Viceroy sent Francisco Miranda Henriques with a fleet of eight vessels. It is recorded that in the various engagements that took place the Portuguese were successful; they lost only 80 men, while the enemy's losses numbered 4000. But soon there came a turn in the fortune of the Portuguese. The Captain imprudently captured a rich ship from Mecca belonging to the Queen of Ullal. She in retaliation sent a big army to the aid of Venkatappa Nayaka, which besieged the fortress of Bangher, then in the hands of the Portuguese, and set fire to the city. In the battle that followed both sides lost heavily. Henriques revenged himself by making an attack on the fortress of Ullal, and invested it. But soon he changed his mind and raised the siege.³

¹ A Portuguese coin.

² Faria y Souza, III p. 335-36.

³ Ibid.

In the year 1618 matters grew worse for the Portuguese. Luis de Mello and Dom Francisco de Miranda, the Capitão Mor of Malabar, went to Mangalore with fresh troops ; but they were defeated and about 200 of them were slain by ' Bentacanayque ' (Venkataappa Nayaka) who had attacked them with 12,000 ' Canariens.'¹

This unfortunate incident for the Portuguese marks the beginning of the gradual decline of the Portuguese power in Kanara. The Queen of Ullal gained independence from the Portuguese, only to fall under the sovereignty of Venkataappa Nayaka.²



¹ Ibid., p. 336.

² Cf. Varkey, *The History of Ullal*, The Mangalore Magazine, Vol. VI, No. 2, 1920, p. 14.

CHAPTER IV.

TRAVELS OF PIETRO DELLA VALLE

The year 1623 is of special interest to the historian of Mangalore. For in that year Mangalore was visited by a distinguished Italian traveller Pietro Della Valle. He had accompanied Sig. Gio. Fernandes Leiton, the Portuguese ambassador, to the court of Venkātappa Nayaka. The narrative of his travels is a mine of information about Mangalore and the surrounding country.

His account of Mangalore begins with the description of the city itself. "Mangalore," he writes, "stands between Olala and Banguel and in the middle of the bay right against the mouth of the Harbour, into which the fort extends itself, being almost encompassed with water on three sides. It is but small, the worst built of any I have seen in India, and, as the Captain told me one day, as I visited him, may rather be termed a House of a Gentleman than a fort. The City is but little neither contiguous to the fort and encompassed with weak walls, within which the houses of the inhabitants are enclosed. There are three churches, namely, the See, or Cathedral of our Lady Del Rosario within the Fort, La Misericordia, and San Francesco without. Yet in Mangalore there are but three ecclesiastical persons in all, two Franciscan friars in San Francesco and one Vicar Priest, to whose charge, with very small revenues, belong all the other churches."¹

Pietro Della Valle next gives us an account of Ullal and its Queen, who had become famous from her relations with the Portuguese. He found Ullal to be "a fat soil, the

¹ Della Valle, *Travels*, II, p. 302.

City lying between two seas, to wit, the Main-sea and the Bay, upon an arm of land which the Port encloses, so that the situation is not only pleasant, but might also be made very strong, if it were in the hands of people that knew how to do it." He proceeds to describe the bazaar, which, he says, "is fairly good and besides necessaries for provisions, affords abundance of white and stripped linen cloth, which is made in Olala, but coarse, such as the people of the Country use. At the Town's end is a very pleasant Grove, and at the end thereof a great Temple, handsomely built for this Country and much esteemed. Olala is inhabited confusedly, both by Gentiles who burn themselves and also by Malabar Moors. About a mile off southwards, stands a Royal House, or Palace, amongst the aforesaid Groves, where the Queen resides when she comes hither sometimes. 'Tis large, enclosed with a wall and trench, but of little moment. In the first entrance it hath a Gate with an open Porch, where the Guard is to stand; and within that a great void place, like a very large Court, on the far side whereof stands a house... The way from the Palace to the City is almost wholly beset with Houses."¹

From Della Valle's letters we also hear about the religious practices prevalent among the inhabitants of Mangalore and its suburbs. He gives an account of the devil worship in Ullal and a brief description of the temples. The people seem to have held in great terror the Evil One, because of his visiting them with pestilence. The Queen had built those temples—small square ones—to placate him. The temples at Ullal were generally square. He tells us that in one of them he "saw the idol standing in

* Ibid., p. 303-4.

the middle upon the plain ground, made of white unpolished stone, exceeding a human stature, and not of that shape as we paint the Devil, but like a handsome young man, with a high round diadem upon his head... From each arm issu'd two hands, one of which was stretch'd out, the other bent towards the body. In the anterior right hand he had a kind of weapon, which I believe was one of those Indian Ponyards... In the anterior left hand he had a round Thing which I know not what and in the other two hands I cannot tell what. Between the legs was another statue of a naked man with a long beard, and his hands upon the ground, as if he had been going upon them like an animal; and upon this image the devil seemed to ride. On the right hand of the idol was a great trunk of a tree."¹

Pietro Della Valle's account of the Queen of Ullal is interesting and instructive. This Queen came to the throne after the death of her sister, who had left no heir to succeed her. On her accession, she married the King of Bangher. But the marriage was not successful. How could a union devoid of love be happy? Political love and indifference were at loggerheads. Husband and wife lived apart, and if they cared to see each other they met on the border lands of their kingdoms. The King of Bangher was not anxious to have the Queen of Ullal by his side; for he was not wanting in wives who were always at his beck and call, nor did the Queen desire his company, for she had numerous paramours to adore her.

After a few years of such a married life, the Queen under some pretext divorced her husband, sending back, as

¹ Ibid., p. 260. The idol was most likely that of Siva dancing upon the demon Muyalaka, known in the South as Sri Nataraja.

was customary, all his jewels. This event served to foment the already existing differences between them, and led finally to a war. The Queen attended by a small retinue, was captured during one of her boating excursions. She, however, with fair demeanour and good words, prevailed upon him so seductively that he not only became her avowed friend, but even allowed her to return to her country. But no sooner did the Queen get home than she made preparations to wreak vengeance on the King. The latter called on the Portuguese to help him and the Queen thereupon allied herself with Venkatappa Nayaka. The bold adventurer who was always looking for an opportunity for self-aggrandisement, welcomed the invitation, and swept across the dominions of the King of Bangher. He also absorbed the territories of many other petty lords, or made them his tributaries. At Mangalore he totally defeated the Portuguese, who lost the battle because of their stupid self-confidence. But he did not take possession of Mangalore, in spite of the Queen's wishes. He said "that they could do that any time with much facility, and that 't was best to let those Portugals remain in that small place (which was rather a House than a Fortress) in respect of the Traffic and Wares which they brought to the benefit of their countries."

Finally he made a treaty with the Portuguese according to which he restored to them the ensigns he had captured during the war and he got in return the fort of Bangher, which he forthwith razed to the ground. The result of this war was not in any way to the benefit of the Queen. Though it is true that she became victorious over her rival and the Portuguese, yet, says Pietro Della Valle, she was sufficiently humbled by Venkatappa Nayaka, who obliged her to surrender to him *Bordrete*, the best and the

richest city she had, together with some lands on the border.¹

Pietro Della Valle next details the rumours connected with the Queen of Ullal. It appears she had a son, called Cic-Rau-Ciaueru, who died some time before the arrival of Della Valle.² It was rumoured that she herself poisoned him, as the ambitious young man was aspiring to take the government in his own hands. Yet, Pietro Della Valle does not give credit to this rumour, since he could not find any such impiety in her. A similar rumour concerning the second son was also afloat, but Della Valle is inclined to believe it was a base invention of the Portuguese, who were her enemies.³

On the whole, the Queen appeared to Della Valle to be a perfectly gentle lady of high dignity. She was about forty years of age. Dark in complexion, she carried her stately head upon a delicate, alluring figure which was draped at the waist with a plain piece of cloth. Though her exterior aspect and habit, says Della Valle, revealed rather a dirty, kitchen-wench or laundress than a delicate and noble queen, yet her graceful voice and her prudent and judicious speech bespoke her nobility.⁴ But what struck him most was her marvellous assiduity. From day-break till dinner time, and after dinner till night-fall, she was herself superintending her works. "By which action," says he, "I observed something in her of the spirit of Sciah

¹ Ibid., p. 313-5. The remains of the Fort of Banher are to be seen to this day in Urwa under the name of Banher-alma. They were first described by Professor G. J. Vacley, of St. Aloysius' College, in *The Mysore Magazine*, and then in *Historical Papers*, p. 46-55. It is a matter of regret that no steps have been taken to preserve the remains of this ancient monument. Its walls supply mud to all the builders of the neighbourhood.

² "Cic-Rau for Chikka Rao, or junior chief." Clavern seems to be a misprint or, Clautra' or Chastar. Cf. Ibid., p. 315, foot-note.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., p. 307.

Abbas, King of Persia, and concluded it no wonder that she hath always shew'd herself like him, that is active and vigorous in actions of war and weighty affairs." Even at night she could not rest undisturbed. For it was at this time that she was giving audiences and dispensing justice to her subjects.¹

Pietro Della Valle was looking for an opportunity to talk to her. What was his joy, when on a certain occasion he accidentally met the Queen in the Bazaar! At her approach, he respectfully saluted her, and the Queen, perceiving his strange habit, inquired whether there was anybody, who could talk in his language. Thereupon, the Brahman Narsu, whom he had taken with him as his interpreter, stepped forward. On being asked who he was, Pietro Della Valle replied that he was "a Roman, a Christian of Rome, where is the See of the Pope, who is the Head of the Christians. That it was almost ten years since my first coming from home and wandering about the world, and seeing diverse countries and courts of great princes; and that being mov'd by the fame of her worth which had long ago come to my ears, I was come into this place purposely to see her and offer her my service." Next, she inquired what countries and courts he had seen, and thereupon he gave her a brief description of all he had visited. And she, hearing the Great Truk, the Persian King, and Venkatappa Nayaka mentioned, asked what then he came to see in those woods, meaning Ullal was not worth seeing at all, especially for a man who had seen so many great things. Pietro Della Valle replied that it was to see her, rather than anything else, that he had come. After some courteous words of

¹ Ibid., p. 337.

thanks, she asked him what made him leave his country, whether any disgust or death of any beloved person, and if any sickness or any other disaster happened to him in so remote and strange countries. He answered that in every place he visited God was with him, and that he trusted in Him alone; but as for the first question, Della Valle says, he concealed his first misfortunes, and told the Queen that it was with a desire to increase his knowledge by seeing diverse countries and customs, that he had left his fair country. Finally she questioned him about his plans for the future, and he answered that he thought of returning to his country, if it was the will of God. The Queen then bade him go to his lodgings, saying that she would talk to him again at a more convenient hour, and departed.¹

On the morrow Pietro Della Valle after receiving an invitation from the Prince, the Queen's son, visited the palace. The palace, he says, might rather be called "Capanna Reale," *i. e.* a Royal House. The entrance was through a gate placed in the midst of a field, separated from the others by a small fence. Within the gate there was an alley, on the right side of which he saw cultivated ground. At the end of this farm, where the alley turned, rose the Royal mansion, overlooking the green fields. The porch which was very low, but spacious, was smeared with cow-dung and the walls were painted in a bad red colour. Facing the steps, in the middle of the porch, there was another smaller porch, which was the only entrance into the inner apartments. Within this little porch there was a small room, long and narrow, where the Prince used to sit on a coarse cloth, leaning against the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 308-90.

wall. The room also was smoothed over with cow-dung. Beside the Prince there was a mat for his nephew, Balé Rairu, who was the heir apparent, as being the son of the Prince's sister. Outside the little porch there were servants of low grades, two of whom, standing at the entrance, fanned the air. Such persons as came to see the Prince had to wait in the porch.¹

The Prince, says Della Valle, was a corpulent, lusty youth of not more than seventeen years of age. His complexion was dusky, unlike that of his mother, which was "as black as that of a natural *Aethiopian*." He was possessed of a stentorian voice, and his gestures and demeanour manifested judgment and manly gravity. From the girdle upwards he was all naked, save for a thin cloth painted in several colours, cast across his shoulders. The hair of his head was long after their manner and tied in one great knot, which hung on one side, wrapt up in a little plain piece of cloth. The questions the youth asked were almost the same as his mother's and Pietro Della Valle gave the same answers. During the conversation, he offered him a map of the world, as a memorial of his visit. The Prince was greatly pleased with the gift and extolled it as an ingenious "Work of Art."²

Pietro Della Valle also gives some information about the neighbouring sovereigns. Another famous lady, mentioned by him, was the noble Queen of Carnate, "whose territory . . . is two or three leagues distant from Mangalore upon the sea-coast towards the North." Her kingdom stood on a river, which surrounded it entirely, and which overflowed the country round about. Nature

¹ Ibid., p. 316-19.

² Ibid., 319-23.

had itself fortified the country, but it was subject to Venkatappa Nayaka. Pietro Della Valle then tells us how it came to be conquered by this King. During the siege of Mangalore, when fortune was smiling upon him, he desired to subdue all the surrounding petty kingdoms. Accordingly he sent for this Queen and demanded her submission. But the Queen, who was of a noble character, adorned with virtue and endowed with prudence, was unwilling to become the vassal of Venkatappa. She summoned her captains and promised to spend all the money and jewels she had and to do all that a woman could compass, if they would defend the state. But these ministers, a set of cowards and traitors, would not attempt a defence. Whereupon the poor Queen, deciding to make the best of a bad job, prepared herself to go to Venkatappa Nayaka with a good guard of soldiers, to take the oath of fealty to him. Hearing this, Venkatappa ordered her to come alone, with no other guard than her personal attendants, which, says Della Valle, she did "not voluntarily, but constrained thereto by her hard fortune and the treachery of others." Venkatappa received her honourably and took her in his friendship and protection. But he caused the city to be dismantled of its strong walls in order to prevent any rebellion. He also obliged her to pay a tribute.¹

"When they dismantled the city . . .," Della Valle proceeds, "unable to see the sight any longer, she retired to a solitary place a little distant, cursing in those her solitudes the pusillanimity and infidelity of her own people, no less than the bad fortune and weakness of the Portugals, her defenders, to whom she had been always a faithful friend."²

¹ Ibid., p. 352-53.

² Ibid., p. 353.

Finally, we are indebted to Pietro Della Valle for his graphic and vivid description of Kadri and a most interesting account of the Yogis, a band of ascetics who had established themselves at this place.

"On the edge of the Plain where the ascent of the Hill begins, is a great Cistern or Lake from which, ascending a flight of stairs with the face turned towards the North, you enter into a Gate, which hath covered a Porch, and is the first of the whole enclosure, which is surrounded with a wall and a ditch, like a Fort. Having entered the said Gate, and going straight forward through a handsome broad Walk, beset on either side with sundry fruit trees, you come to another Gate, where there are stairs and a Porch higher than the former. This opens into a square *Piazza*, or Great Court, in the middle whereof stands a Temple of indifferent greatness, and for Architecture like the other Temples of other Indian Gentiles; only the Front look towards the East, where the Hill riseth higher, and the South side of the Temple stands towards the Gate, which leads into the Court. Behind the Temple, on the side of the Court, is a kind of Shed, or Pent-house, with a Charriot in it, which served to carry the Idol in Procession upon certain Festivals. Also in two or three other places of the side of the Court, there are little square Chappels for other Idols. On the North Side of the Court is another Gate opposite to the former, by which going out and descending some steps you see a great Cistern, or Lake of a long form, built with black stone and stairs leading down to the surface of the water; in one place next the Wall 'tis divided into many little Cisterns, and it serves for the Ministers of the Temple to wash themselves in and perform the Ceremonies.

"The Gate of the Temple, as I said, looks Eastward, where the Hill begins to rise very high and steep. From the front of the temple to the top of the Hill are long and broad stairs of the same black stone, which lead up to it and then the place is afterwards plain. Where the stairs begin stands a high straight and round brazen Pillar,¹ ty'd about in several places with little fillets; 'tis about 60 Palms high, and one and a half thick from the bottom to the top, with little diminution. On this Pillar are placed about seventeen round brazen wheels, made with many spokes round about like stars: they are to support the lights in great Festivals, and are distant about three palms one from another. The top terminates in a great brazen Candlestick of five branches, of which the middle most is highest, the other four of equal height. The foot of the pillar is square and hath an idol engraven on each side: the whole structure is or at least seems to be all of one piece.

"The Temple, to wit the inner part where the idol stands, is likewise all covered with brass. They told me that the walls of the whole Inclosure, which are now covered with leaves, were sometimes covered with large plates of brass; but Venk-tapa Naieka carried the same away, when in the War of Mangalore, his army pillaged all these countries, which whether it is true or no, I know not. The walls of a less Inclosure (wherein, according to their custom, the Temple stands) are also surrounded on the outside with eleven wooden rails up to the top, distant one above the other little more than an Architectural Palm; these also serve to bear Lights on Festival occasions; which must needs make a brave show, the temple thereby

¹ This pillar is still to be seen.

appearing as if it were all on fire. This Temple is dedicated to an Idol call'd Meginato. Of what form it is I know not, because they would not suffer us to enter in to see it.

" Having viewed the temple I ascended the hill by the stairs, and passing a good way forward on the top thereof came to the habitations of the Gioghi and their King; the place is a Plain, planted with many Trees, under which are raised many very great stone pavements, a little height above the ground, for them to sit upon in the shade. There are an infinite number of little square Chapples with several idols in them and some placed covered overhead, but open round about, for the Gioghi to entertain themselves in. And lastly, there is the King's House, which is very low built. I saw nothing of it, (and believe it is nothing more) but a small porch, with walls round about, colour'd with red and painted with elephants and other animals, besides in one place a wooden thing like a little square bed, somewhat raised from the ground, covered with a cloth like a Tent; they told me it was the place where the King used to reside and perhaps also to sleep. The King was not here now, but was gone to a Shed or Cottage in a great plain field, to see something done, I know not what.

" The soil is very good, and kept in tillage; where it is not level by reason of the steepness of the hill, 'tis planted with goodly Trees, most of which bear fruit; and, indeed, for a Hermitage so ill-kept by people that know not how to, or cannot make it delightful, it seem'd to me sufficient handsome. I believe it was built by the Kings of Banghel, whilst they flourished, for it lies in their territory and that the place and the Seigniory thereof was by them given to the Gioghi; and, as they had no Wives, and the Dominion

of this Hermitage and the adjacent Land goes not by Inheritance but by Elective Succession.

"I thought to find abundance of Gioghi here, as in our Convents, but I saw not above one or two; and they told me they resort not together, but remain dispers'd here and there as they list or abide in several places in the Temples where they please, nor are subject to their King in point of obedience, as ours are to their Superior, but only do him Reverence and Honour; and at certain solemn times great numbers of them assemble here, to whom during their stay the King supplies Victuals. In the Hermitage live many Servants of his and Labourers of the Earth, till these Lands, whereby he gets Provisions. They tell me that what he possesses within and without the Hermitage yields him about five or six thousand Pagodas yearly, the greatest part whereof he expends in Feasts, and the rest in diet and in what is needful for the ordinary services of the Temple and his Idols; and that Venk-tapa Naicka had not yet taken tribute of him, but 't was feared he would hereafter."

Now Pietro Della Valle proceeds to give an account of the King of the Yogis. He says: "At length I went to see the King of the Gioghi and found him employed in his business after a mean sort, like a Peasant or Villager. He was an old man with a long white beard, but strong and lusty; in either ear hung two balls which seemed to be of Gold, I know not whether empty or full, about the bigness of a Musket bullet; the holes in his ears were large, and the lobes much stretched by the weight; on his head he had a little red bonnet, such as our Galley Slaves wear, which caps are brought out of Europe to be sold in India

with good Profit. From the girdle upwards he was naked, only he had a piece of cotton wrought with Lozenges of several colours across his shoulders; he was not very dark, and for an Indian of colour, rather white than otherwise. He seemed a man of judgment, but upon trial in sundry things I found him not learned.

"He told me that formerly he had Horses, Elephants, Palanchinos and a great equipage and power before Venk-tapa Naieka took away all from him, so that now he had very little left. That within twenty days after there was to be a great Feast in that place, to which many Gioghi would repair from several parts; that it would be worth my seeing, and that I should meet one that could speak Arabick and Persian, and was very learned, who could give me satisfaction as to many things; and, extolling the quality of this Gioghi he told me that he had a very great Head, (to signify the greatness of which he made a great circle with his arm) to wit of hair, ruffled and long, and which had neither been cut nor combed a great while I asked him to give me his Name in writing, for my Memory since I was come to see him. He answer'd me, (as the Orientals for the most part do to such curious demands) "To what purpose was it ?," and in fine, he would not give it to me; but I perceiv'd 'twas through a vain and ignorant fear that it might be of some mischief to him. Nevertheless at my going away, I was told by others that he was called Batinato; and that the Hermitage and all the adjacent places is call'd Cadira."¹

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¹ Ibid., p. 346-352. As Pietro Della Valle is very little known, the author thinks that the readers will not be displeased with this long quotation.

CHAPTER V

DECLINE OF THE PORTUGUESE POWER

We have now to trace the relations of the Portuguese with Mangalore till their final disappearance from Kanara. In 1630 the Portuguese sustained a disaster. According to a letter of President Rastell and Council at Surat, dated November 21, 1630, they sent an army against their enemies at Mangalore; but it was overthrown.¹ In 1635 or thereabout we hear of a warning from the King of Portugal to the Capitão Mor of Kanara. He writes that he has received a letter from the Queen of Bangher asking their help against the king Virabadra Nayaka in order to recover what she had lost. His Majesty advises the Capitão Mor to comply with all her requests, except that of waging war, and instructs him that, if she makes such a request, he should politely and diplomatically refuse. He finally observes that this is politically essential for the maintenance of friendly relations with all the neighbouring kings.² The policy of non-interference, to which the Portuguese resorted, seems to be due to the fact that the Portuguese power in Kanara was fast declining, and wars were prejudicial to their commercial interests.

In fact the Portuguese fortresses in Kanara were not properly maintained. It is clear from a letter of the Viceroy to the King of Portugal, dated 29th November, 1630 that the fortresses in Kanara were in a dilapidated condition.³ The Portuguese Sovereigns, well knowing that it was on these fortifications that their strength mainly

¹ Foster, *English Factories*, 1630-1633, p. 98-9.

² Appendix No. 5.

³ Appendix No. 3.

rested, were time and again insisting on the Viceroys that they should devote special attention to them. In the aforesaid letter, the Viceroy writes to His Majesty, that the fortresses of Onor (Honawar), Barcellor (Bastrur), Cannanor and Mangalor, which were in a very bad condition, have been repaired (or rebuilt) according to the report of P^o Massay, whom he had despatched for their inspection.¹ The King likewise in his reply not only ratifies the action of his deputy, but also urges him to equip them with all that is necessary for their defence.²

In another letter from Lisbon of February 5, 1653 His Majesty urges the Viceroy to do diligently everything that is needed for the upkeep of the fortresses, and to send him the report.³ And it is evident that the dilatory methods adopted by the Portuguese Government in improving the condition of their fortresses was one of the chief causes of their final downfall in Kanara.

In Mangalore, affairs had come to a critical pass in the year of Grace 1652. Mangalore was in a shifty condition owing to the decay of its fortifications. His Majesty (by a letter of 13th February 1652) ordered the Conde de Aveiras, to fortify and do all that was necessary for the defence of the town and fortress of Mangalore. He also urged the erection of a new fort opposite the old one. The Governors of India replied that they had left the matter in the hands of the Capitão Mor of Cabo (Camorin) and of the minister, sent to the South. Not satisfied with this answer, the King wrote to the Viceroy on the 5th of February 1653, mentioning all these details and ordering him to hasten the building of fortifications and forward a

¹ Appendix No. 2.

² Ibid.

³ Appendix No. 5.

report about the whole matter.¹ But before the latter could act according to the advice of his sovereign Mangalore was lost to Portugal. In the war which was going on between the Portuguese and Sivappa Nayaka, the King of Ikeri, the latter in 1652 laid siege to the Fort São Sebastião, and the Portuguese in 1653 had to abandon it for want of garrison and ammunition.² The Viceroy's reply to the letter of His Majesty mentioned above was really discouraging: the town and fortress of Mangalore were lost, after a rigorous siege and a disastrous war with the King of Kanara.³

The same fate befell the other Portuguese possessions in Kanara. The ports of Barcel (or Basrur) and Onor (Honawar) were wrenched from their hands, as the decay of their power became more and more pronounced. At last in 1664 the tide of failure turned. The King of Ikeri sent an ambassador with a present of 6,000 fardles of rice, and offered to restore the castles of "Bassilore, Mangalore and Onore" to the Viceroy.⁴

The Viceroy gladly accepted the offer and accordingly sent a small armada of 13 frigots (frigates) to take possession of these places. The King did not fully comply with the terms of the treaty. 'Narne Molla,' who was appointed for the task, concluded the negotiations by the delivery of the two forts at Barcelor (Basrur) and by the promise of that of Mangalore.⁵

In the meantime, when 'Narne Molla' was negotiating with the Portuguese, there "arrived at Barcelore (Basrur)

¹ Appendix No. 5.

² Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, II, p. 19.

³ Appendix No. 6.

⁴ Foster, *English Factories*, 1661-1664, p. 342.

⁵ Ibid., p. 343-49. 'The two forts at Barcelor' were Barcelor and Cambolim (Gangolli).

two Dutch ships with a great many men," obviously with the intention of seizing the two forts there and that of Mangalore, before the Portuguese could take possession of them. Discoursing with 'Narne Molla' they told him that he should not deliver these places to the Portuguese, unless his master intended to make war with the Hollanders. But the Brahman answered that all he had to do was his master's bidding, and he dared not act against his instructions. To the Portuguese they said they should not receive those places from the King, since he was a minor and unable to manage his own affairs; therefore, they should expect the King to be of age, and then only to receive from him whatsoever he wished to give. Otherwise they would not be lawfully possessed of the fortresses. But when they found their own arguments to be of no avail, they sent two of their ships to Mangalore, and ingeniously put up the Dutch colours on the walls, before the Portuguese took possession. But this "was so much resented by the country people that they were soone taken downe, towren and stampt under foote; at which the fidalgoes laugh in their sleives."¹

It seems, however, that the Portuguese were again dispossessed of the forts received from Narne Molla on behalf of the Ikeri Raja. For on February 14th, 1671, King Somasēkara Nayaka offered to the Viceroy some sites at Mangalore, Barcelor and Onor for the erection of factories, under certain stipulations; these conditions were that the proposed factories should not be surrounded by double walls; that no bastions should be erected thereon; that no oil mills should be established and that the native weights and measures should be employed and that no one

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 349-50.

was to be made a Christian against his will. The King undertook to give the Portuguese every facility for trade, on payment of the customary duties; and in return for all these privileges he asked that the Portuguese should assist him with powder and shot against the Moors (Mussulmans) and others, and that they should not help his enemies and give them shelter. The Viceroy agreed to the proposals, but demanded that the factories should be such as to admit of artillery. He suggested in addition that the King should compel the Christians to be obedient to their priests in things appertaining to the Christian law, and that he should allow the priests to punish them for their violations of the law. Moreover he laid down that the King should put an end to the Brahmins' practice of obliging the Christians to make salvoes of musketry at the casts of their pagodas (idols).¹

A little after this treaty, fresh hostilities seem to have broken out between the King of Ikeri and the Portuguese. But soon on the 15th of December, 1678, another treaty of peace, alliance and commerce was signed. The King promised to pay 30,000 xeralfins towards the cost of the war, and agreed not to make any reference to losses sustained in consequence of the capture of some of his ships by the Portuguese; while the latter undertook not to demand payment of any overdue tributes or taxes, nor satisfaction for damages and losses caused to the State by the King of Kanara. The King further undertook to supply stone and wood for the erection of a factory at Mangalor and Barcelor, and 1,500 sacks of clean rice; to pull down the existing factory belonging to the Arabs,

¹ Danvers, *Report on the Portuguese Records regarding the East Indies.* p. 74-75; Appendix No. 7.

not to allow them to trade in any way in his dominions, and not to send any of his ships to their ports.¹

After the lapse of another twenty-five years we hear of the Portuguese again in 1706. This time they had taken the offensive. Vasco Fernandes Cesar de Menezes, the Viceroy of Goa, having been insulted by the King of Kanara, marched thither, dismantled many fortresses and burnt the villages on the river banks. After this he bombarded Mangalore "spreading terror, fire, and death in every direction."²

From this time onwards the Portuguese appear mainly as traders and not as conquerors; and even in trade they do not seem to have had the lion's share as they had before. It is to be remembered that as early as 1673 other nations of Europe began trading in Kanara. John Fryer, who travelled in India from 1672-81, observes in his *New Account of East India and Persia*, that in Mangalore the Dutch have a fort; and that six miles to the North the French have a flag flying.³ In 1736 Surappaya, the governor of Mangalore, on behalf of the King of Bendore made an agreement with the English East India Company regulating their trade in South Kanara and his relations with the chief of the Tellicherry factory.⁴ In 1739 the final settlement of peace between both the parties was agreed upon through the same governor of Mangalore.⁵ It is also clear from the Memoirs of

¹ Ibid., p. 75.

² Ibid., p. 77. The records of the Tellicherry factory mention a famine that befell South Kanara in the middle of 1727. The factors had information that parents were selling their children at Mangalore in order to obtain support for themselves. Cf. Logan, *Makarav*, p. 217.

³ Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia*, p. 55.

⁴ Logan, *Collection of Treaties*, p. 31. The reciprocal agreement of the Tellicherry chief may be read in Ibid., p. 32-33.

⁵ Ibid., p. 39-41.

J. V. Sein Van Golluessi, a Dutchman from Malabar, written in 1743 that there was a Resident (Dutch) in Mangalore in a kind of a fort. According to the same document all nations had free trade among these people in "Onoor, Mangaloor, Bacqenoor, Molekke and Bateculo," in spite of the contracts bestowing exclusive right of trading to the Dutch East India Company. The same Company had at this time full monopoly of trade only in the port of Barsalloor.¹ In fact on the 30th of October, 1751 an obligation was entered into by Antonio Pires on behalf of the Honourable Company with the King of Bednore (Bednur), by which the Company, as the ally of the King, promised "to take all the measures possible to prevent supplies being carried by sea to their enemies, the Nairs, and to afford convoy to all boats from Mangalore to the Canarese camp."² This document discloses the paramount power of the British fleet in Kanara as early as the middle of the 18th century.

¹ *Selections from the Records of the Madras Government. Dutch Record No. 7. Memoirs of the Malabar Coast by J. V. Sein Van Golluessi, composed in the year 1743 A. D. copied by the Rev. A. J. Van Der Burg, Madras, 1908.*

² *Logan, o. c., p. 57.*

CHAPTER VI

HYDER ALI

The Dutch, however, were not long in possession of Mangalore. This city soon came under the control of the rising power of Hyder Ali, the Muhammadan usurper of Mysore. Hyder Ali, the bold adventurer ever anxious to extend his dominions in Kanara, found an opportunity to do so in 1759. The son of the Queen of Kanara (Bednur)¹ had escaped from Rana Bidnoor (Bednur) and coming to Hyder, then at the Suba of Bisnagar, begged his assistance to compel his mother to put him in possession of the kingdom of his ancestors, the regency of which she had held since the death of his father, her husband. She was still retaining it in spite of the fact that her son had already attained the age of majority.

This lady, named Viru Magi according to Buchanan,² was "a low minded fearless woman wearing the dress of a man."³ She was "a dissolute Rani" and "had lately formed an illicit connection with a slave."⁴ Kirimani says "that the men were ashamed of her being their ruler."⁵ And Buchanan adds that she was "detested on account of her criminal life."⁶ Buchanan, whose information was received from a Brahman of Keladi, the descendant of the hereditary writers of the chronicles of the Nayaks, says that the so-called prince was not the Queen's son, whom she had put to death in his 24th year, but a young

¹ The Rajas of Ikkeri had before this time transferred their capital to Bednur, a city called Nagar at present. The kings of Bednur were also called Kings of Kanara, as at this time they were possessed of the whole of this country.

² Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras*, III, p. 254.

³ Mir Husein Ali Khan Kirimani, *The History of Hyder Nabi*, p. 123.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Buchanan, I. c.

man, a weaver by caste, brought up by the Rajah of Chatrakal, as the murdered prince.¹ The obscure origin of this youth was unknown to Hyder Ali, and consequently to his general M. M. D. L. T. on whose history our narrative is based.

Accordingly, Hyder received the young prince favourably and, as the Subadar of Scirra in which was included the kingdom of Kanara, he summoned his mother to appear before the Suba. But this lady who was possessed of extraordinary courage and was habituated to despise the orders of the Mughal emperor and his officers, replied that she was Queen and knew no superior. At this insolent answer, which enraged Hyder, war was declared. The Sultan was promised the port of Mangalore by the Prince, as a reward for his efforts to restore the latter to the throne of Bednor. Together with Mangalore the prince was yielding a tract of territory from thence to the frontiers of the kingdom of Mysore. Accordingly Hyder left Bisnagar with 6,000 of his best cavalry and advancing by forced marches reached the plains of Bednur before the Queen had received any intelligence of his approach. The battalion which the Queen had hastily despatched to bar his passage, was easily beaten, and the Queen herself was captured, and conducted to the presence of the conqueror. He received her in the most gracious manner, and reconciled her to her son. By proclaiming the young prince as King, he won over the feelings of the people. He then marched to Mangalore to take possession of the fort.

But the Queen, incensed at this humiliation, determined to bring about the destruction of Hyder. With caresses and kindly words she influenced her son, and by

¹ Ibid.

force of insinuation, she succeeded in her endeavours to make him regret his dealings with Hyder, whom she tactfully represented as an unscrupulous barbarian. Thus he was brought over to consent to the assassination of Hyder, which she had projected with hopes of unfailing success.

Hyder was soon expected at Bednur. His palace was to be blown up; but the fatal project was in time revealed to the Mussulman sovereign by a friendly Brahman. At once orders were issued to seize the conspirators. The Queen and her accomplices were summarily put to death, and the King, was carried prisoner to Maggheri, and his kingdom confiscated. Hyder changed the name of Rana Bidnoor to Hyder Nagar, the Royal city of Hyder, and the name of Mangalore into that of Corial or Port Royal.¹

Such is the account of the author of the *History of Hyder Shah*, but Buchanan, whose narrative seems more reliable states that after the conquest of Bednur, "disguise being no longer necessary, he (Hyder Ali) began to treat the pretender with the utmost contempt and at length induced the young man to quarrel with him by taking away his favourite dancing girls..... Immediately after the rupture, the pretender, the Princess and her adopted son were sent to Madhugiri. Soon afterwards they were relieved by the Marathas who altogether neglected the pretender, and knowing the weakness of his claims dismissed him. The Princess died on the road to Poonah 'of a pain in her bowels.'²

The fact that concerns the unbiased historian is that this family quarrel put the city of Mangalore into the hands of Hyder Ali. How gloriously the truth of the

¹ M. M. D. L. T.: *History of Hyder Shah*, p. 81-90.

² Buchanan, o. c., p. 235.

fable of the two cats fighting over a piece of cheese and appealing to the fox to act as judge was illustrated. Mangalore continued to be an emporium of trade¹ called at by the foreign adventurers as in former days. On the 27th of May 1763, the Sultan issued a firman permitting the British Honourable Company to export rice from Mangalore "for the service of Tellicherry exempt from the duty, called *adlami* or, if they chose to carry this rice to Bombay, it is exempt from the same duty." The document, nevertheless, states that "any private English Merchant to purchase rice must be liable to the same customs as other merchants."²

These frequent visits of the English to South Kanara disclosed to them the natural wealth of the country and fostered their ambitious purposes. Accordingly in 1768 the (English) Government of Bombay sent an expedition under admiral Watson to seize Mangalore. Hyder was then waging war against the English Troops in the Deccan. The English won an easy victory over the feeble garrison left by Hyder at Mangalore. Hyder's soldiers, not being assisted by the inhabitants of the town, made their escape, leaving the English as the sole masters of the Port Royal. "This important piece of news was announced to the people by one hundred and one cannon fired from the Fort St. George, and the news of the capture of Mangalore was spread into all the European settlements, and every other part of the country."³

At this time there was at Mangalore a Portuguese settlement with many privileges given them by the Sultan.

¹ Cf. Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, I, p. 10.

² Logan, *A Collection of Treaties*, p. 67-8.

³ M. M. D. L. T., *History of Hyder Shah*, p. 374.

The new conquerors would not allow them to enjoy such concessions and accordingly they acquainted the Portuguese Resident that they could not permit his exercising any authority in that place pending the desinion of the president at Bombay. Nevertheless they offered them to stay there under the protection of the British flag. This the Resident refused and embarked for Goa a few days after.¹

The news of the landing of the English army and the capture of Mangalore had been instantly communicated to Hyder, and he at once ordered the troops which had been left at Bismagar, Scirra and Seringapatam to march immediately to the kingdom of Kanara. Tipu Sahib, the well-known son of Hyder Ali, commanded the van consisting of 3,000 cavalry, and Hyder put himself at the head of 3,000 of his veterans, part of the artillery, and about 1,200 of his cavalry. The rest of the army was left under the command of Mughdoom, with injunctions to harass the other English armies in order to retard their operations. Meanwhile the Commander of the Bombay English army at Mangalore was encamped with the greatest security outside the gates of Mangalore.

Tipu marched from Bangalore with all the ardour of a youth who burns with a desire for glory. Quickly he reached the kingdom of Kanara, whose people received him in their confidence. Animated by the acclamation of the people, he made his way straight to Mangalore, recruiting all the troops he found on the way.² Major Gouin was soon informed of the approach of Tipu's army. "He

¹ From Messrs. Watson and Sibbald to the President of Bombay, *Ship Resolution*, March 18, 1782, Forrest, *Selections of State Papers, Home Series*, II, p. 137.

² M. M. D. L. T., *History of Hyder Shah*, p. 282.

accordingly," say Messrs. Watson and Sibbald, in their letter dated March 18th, 1768, "left Mangalore on the 5th, and on the 7th in the morning a skirmish ensued with an advanced body of the enemy's horse in which we had two men killed, one ensign (lost?) and twenty men wounded. The loss on the side of the enemy is reported to be considerable."¹ This partial defeat of Tipu's army, cunningly omitted by M. M. D. L. T., obviously delayed the final attack of Mangalore by the Mussulman Prince. The fact is that on the 18th of March when the above quoted letter was written that city had not yet been captured. Nevertheless the advance took place shortly after and he came in sight of the English camp before they had received any advice.

Without waiting for repose or refreshment, the young general pushed forward and, driving back the guards, attacked the army, which was totally routed, and pursued to the gates of the city, where, says the writer of "the *History of Hyder Shah*" his cavalry entered pell-mell with the fugitives. Tipu freely allowed his soldiers to plunder the camp and the city, in order to punish the inhabitants for refusing to assist the garrison in the defence of the city.

On this occasion the English army consisting of the general, 46 officers, 680 English troops, and about 6,000 sepoys were captured, together with all their arms and baggage. When Hyder arrived the evening after the victory, "his son had nothing to say but, with Caesar, *Veni, Vidi, Vici.*"² When news of this disaster reached Bombay, its President wrote to the President of Fort

¹ From Messrs. Watson and Sibbald to the President of Bombay, *Ship Resolution*, March 18, 1768, Forrest, *Selections from State Papers, Home Series*, II, v. 138.

² M. M. D. L. T., *History of Hyder Shah*, p. 382-83.

St. George: "The several papers enclosed will fully inform Your Honour & Co. of the particulars of this unhappy event, which is greatly aggravated by the irregular and confused manner in which the retreat was conducted, by which we have sustained a very considerable loss of men, and the enemy have got possession of a very large quantity of gunpowder, many pieces of field artillery and a proportionable quantity of all other stores. This and its consequence may prove extremely prejudicial to your operations."¹

This victory of Hyder Ali was followed by a treaty of perpetual peace and friendship with the Presidency of Bombay, stipulated and signed in the months of August and September, 1770. One of the articles of this treaty provided for a supply of rice for Bombay from Mangalore and other ports.²

The Sultan, however, was naturally in need of friendly neighbours against these new powerful rivals, so unexpectedly defeated on this first occasion. This seems to explain the fact that in the following year Hyder Ali concluded a treaty with the Portuguese concerning the latter's interests at Mangalore and the surrounding country. The terms of this treaty as found in the farman of Hyder Ali to Seque Ali, the governor of Mangalore, were the following:—

"That the Portuguese should be allowed to build factories in that Port (Mangalore) in the same manner as they had before."

"That they should be given the tribute of rice, and allowed to collect 'Lagimas' as of old."

¹ From the President of Bombay to the President of Fort St. George, Bombay Castle, June 14, 1768, *Forrest, Selections from State Papers, Home Series*, II, p. 152.

² Logan, *A Collection of Treaties*, p. 71-72.

"That all the Christian prisoners should be set free."¹

"That all the debts and accounts of ammunitions, lead, etc., bought by your Lordship in past years from the State of Goa should be settled."

"That they should be made to pay through Mamo Behari all that they justly owe out of the four hundred pagodas that seem to remain from income of the 'Lagimas.'"²

In the months of July and August of the same year Hyder Ali's prime minister Venkapaya Pradhan wrote two letters to the Portuguese authorities about the execution of this treaty by the ambassador of the Portuguese, Sada Siva Camotim Vaga. These two letters are printed in the appendix.³

On the 13th of June 1771 another treaty was signed between the Portuguese and Hyder Ali by which the latter were allowed to continue their factory at Mangalore and to collect "Lagimas" and the rice of the tribute... without any hindrance. Hyder Ali promised likewise that the Sarkar would supply the State of Goa with sandal-wood, pepper, rice and other articles produced in his dominions on the receipt of reasonable price. He restored to the parish priests or vicars their ancient privileges and allowed them to administer justice to the Christians of their

¹ Some of the Christians of Mangalore had been made prisoners by Hyder Ali for having assisted the English in the last siege.

² Appendix No. 8. This and the three following documents under the Nos. 9-11 have never been published, as far as we know. They were unearthed from the Government Archives at Panjim by Rev. H. Heras, S. J. Photographic copies of them are preserved in 'The St. Xavier's College Indian Historical Research Institute,' MS. Section,

³ Appendix Nos. 9 and 10.

jurisdiction. He also undertook not to object to any heathen becoming a Christian of his own free-will.¹ On the other hand Hyder Ali stipulated that the State of Goa should help the Sarkar with its fleet in accordance with the agreement made with the kingdom of Bidnur (Bednur). As regards the pretensions of the Sarkar over the dominions of the kingdom of Sunda, the fortress of Cabo de Rama and the district of Canacona, which were then in the possession of the State (of Portuguese India), the question of rightful ownership was left unsettled. Yet it was decided that Cabo de Rama and the other two places should in the meanwhile continue to be in the possession of the Portuguese.²

In 1774 Hyder, desirous of building a citadel at Mangalore to strengthen the entrance to the river, sent his engineer M. Catini to select a suitable place for its construction. M. Catini, failing to find any place more suitable than the eminence commanding the river then occupied by the Portuguese factory, reported this to the Sultan. The Portuguese were thereupon obliged to leave their factory.³ And Mangalore was freed forever from the sway of Portugal.⁴



¹ Compare these terms with the treaty concluded between the Portuguese and the King of Kanara, mentioned above.

² Appendix No. 11.

³ M. M. D. L. T., *History of Hyder Shah*, p. 161, foot-note.

⁴ The negotiations which were opened with Tipu Sultan and later on with the British Government at the end of the last century, in order to re-establish the factory, were all in vain. Cf. Da Cunha, *The Portuguese in South Kanara*, *J. B. E. R. A. S.*, XIX, p. 261.

CHAPTER VII

TIPU SULTAN

Not long after, Mangalore came into the possession of the English during the reign of Tipu Sultan. It was surrendered to General Mathews in 1783, as the Muhammadan chronicler puts it, "by the treachery of Iyaz Khan, the adopted son of the late Nawab (Hyder Ali), who had been appointed by him to the government of the districts of Nuggur and Corial Bunder."¹ According to a letter of General Mathews "the terms granted were that the Khilledar (Khilladar) and his friends should be at liberty to go wherever they pleased, and have their private property secured to them, which I agreed to chiefly on account of the approach of the enemy, who are said to be in force to the number of 9,000 horse and foot and to be advanced very near us, and partly to prevent the great massacre that must have attended a storm."²

But Tipu was determined to regain possession of the place, which, being the principal seaport of his dominions, was of the greatest moment to him. Hence immediately after the reduction of Bednur in April of 1783, he marched with his huge army on Mangalore and arrived there within five or six days. The place was defended by the 42nd Regiment of Highlanders and several battalions of sepoys under the command of Major Campbell, an officer of distinguished abilities; but the fortifications were neither

¹ Kirmani, *The History of the Reign of Tipu Sultan*, p. 8. Tipu Sultan himself says in his memoirs: "An ungrateful rogue, who had been honoured with the government of it (Mangalore or Corial-bunder) had invited the Nazarenes, and delivered it up to them." Kirkpatrick, *Select Letters of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan*, Ap. B., p. IX.

² From General R. Mathews to the Council of Bombay, Mangalore, March 21st, 1783, Forrest, *Selections from State Papers, Home Series*, II, p. 277.

well planned nor ably garrisoned.¹ The description of the siege is given by Tipu himself in his memoirs. "Here I arrived," says the Sultan, "and on the second (or the following day), after crossing another ghaut (or pass) situated two coss on the side of the said fort, encamped near the city. The worthless Nazarene who commanded the fort had erected a battery of heavy guns on an eminence near the fort in which were placed about three hundred Nazarenes and a thousand other troops. After I had taken my position, I dispatched a Kushoon to occupy the town. This division, passing the outer wall, was attacked by a body of Nazarenes posted there by the enemy between whom and my people a sharp conflict was maintained till evening. Having, during the same day, collected the necessary materials for the purpose, I erected a battery in the night, opposite to that of the Nazarenes, in which I placed fifteen guns, and sending a storming party of two Kushoons, I posted them in a hol'w, where they remained till the hour of morning prayer; when after firing a volley (from our battery), and crying out 'Allah rār' (God is our friend) they rushed forward, and with great slaughter drove the Nazarenes without religion, from the eminence they occupied; taking also many prisoners, and pursuing the fugitives to the very gates of the fort, in front of which my people maintained themselves, till such time as, with the divine assistance, I was enabled to entrench them. In the course of the two next days, everything being prepared for the purpose, I invested the place and mounted two batteries. A very hot fire was kept up on both sides the first day. On the second day the gunners of the Hydery army, served the batteries in

¹ Stewart, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Library*, p. 9.

such a manner, that ten guns of the fort were dismounted and shattered to pieces, and a great number of the Nazarenes sent to hell. In the end the Nazarenes abandoned all their guns, and were no longer able to appear on the walls; while I had two or three other batteries erected, in which placing six mortars, I caused large stones to be thrown from them. Hereupon the Nazarenes without religion dug trenches within the fort, into which they slunk (for shelter).¹¹

At this juncture the heavy monsoon, which generally lasts for six months, set in. At the end of the two months Tipu, in spite of the violence of the rains, had forced his way to the ditches of the fort. In the meanwhile, the beleaguered garrison had made two sallies at midnight. On one of these occasions, hearing a more prolonged report of guns, he hastened in the midst of rain and of the darkness of the night to the place from which the reports were heard. He encouraged the people in the trenches by saying "with the divine aid, I would the following day, when the sun was in the meridian, cut off the heads of the infidels within their own ditch and batteries, by the hands of my foot-troops and in this manner retaliate their thieflike action of coming against us in the night." Accordingly he formed two parties of veteran soldiers, and sent one against the gate battery and the other into the ditch. The venture was a success; each party falling upon the enemy caused much havoc among them. "Such as escaped the swords, falling into the ditch and other places, fled like chickens and crept (for concealment) into the nearest holes." Another time at daybreak, the English attacked and penetrated into the trenches at the edge of the ditch; but

¹¹ Kirkpatrick, *Select Letters of Tipu Sultan*, Ap. B, p. IX.

Tipu's troops, instantly attacking them with swords and bayonets, repulsed them with heavy loss. "During the three months such was the slaughter on both sides, that the trenches exhibited nothing but a mixture of mud and clay with the blood and flesh of men. The toes of many were completely rotted, in consequence of the excessive rains, and owing to the mire (in the midst of which they were constantly forced to stand)."¹

Notwithstanding these hardships a mine had been carried on briefly, by the instrumentality of the French auxiliaries, by a double shaft to the foot of the wall. Batteries also had been completed for the attack. The French alone managed the batteries, and due to their exertions the work of the fort were ruined and an assault was (daily) expected at every moment. In this state of affairs, as Tipu says in his memoirs, "the Nazarenes demanded a capitulation and were disputing respecting the article of delivering up their arms."² At this critical moment accounts were received in the camp of the cessation of hostilities between the English and the French. Tipu relates that the letters of the French commanders from Cuddalore contained this piece of information: "that in a single (or in the only) action which had taken place between the French and English before the fort of Cuddalore, the former to the amount of five thousand men had been defeated with the loss of heavy guns, in consequence of which they had been compelled to flee, and shut themselves up within the fort: that the army of the Sirkar, though placed at the disposal of the French for their assistance, had not been required to join them upon this occasion, but were left

¹ Ibid., Ap. B. p. XI.

² Ibid., p. 374.

standing four or five coss in the rear of the English: that the second day following this defeat, the English had sent into the fort of Cuddalore a letter of peace from the French Rajah: that Bussy, the worthless commander of the French, who was very old (being eighty or ninety years of age), and being in his dotage had lost his wits (at least, two-thirds of them), immediately at sight of his Rajah's letter of peace complied with its contents: and that finally the two accursed ones had discontinued hostilities and concluded an accommodation."¹

These letters of M. de Bussy contained also an order to Cossigny, who was at the head of three hundred "French Fringies" in Tipu's service at Mangalore, to stop operations against the English. Accordingly the French troops declined to act any longer against the enemy, in spite of the remonstrances of Tipu to continue the siege. At their instigation, says the Sultan, several Nazarenes, who had been in the employ of Mysore for the last twenty years, quitted the camp and set out with the rest.²

The letter from Colonel Campbell to the President and Council at Bombay substantially agrees with Tipu's account. But he adds before ending the following items: "It is needless here to trouble you with details of the various acts of treachery the enemy were guilty of; but there is one that is too infamous to be omitted, that when the Nabob's flag of truce was flying at one of our outposts, his people sprung a mine at the east gate, by which we lost two gallant soldiers and three spirited steady sepoys. The officer of the guard and several others made a miraculous escape."³

¹ Ibid., p. 374-75.

² Ibid., p. 375.

³ From Colonel J. Campbell to the President and Council, at Bombay, Mangalore, October 4th, 1783. Forrest, *Selections from State Papers, Home Series*, II, p. 393.

Tipu, indignant at the repulses he had met with in his attacks on a place which was avowedly weak, finally converted the siege into a blockade, and the garrison being short of provisions were reduced to the greatest distress. Tipu entertained sanguine hopes of getting the mastery over the situation within a short time, when the arrival of General Macleod with reinforcements and provisions of every kind put an untimely end to his expectations. Negotiations for peace having been commenced soon after, Tipu agreed to a suspension of hostilities. Early in the year 1784, Sir George Stanton, and two other ambassadors arrived in camp, and a treaty of peace stipulating the mutual liberation of prisoners and restoration of places taken during the wars was signed. Accordingly Mangalore, Honawar and all the other places taken by the English were delivered up. This happened on the 11th of March, 1784.¹ The clause respecting the prisoners was never faithfully observed by Tipu.²

¹ Pearce, *Memoirs and Correspondence of Marquess of Wellesley*, I, p. 295; Logan, *A Collection of Treaties*, p. 62-3.

² Stewart, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Library*, p. 49-50. The so-called 'Sulian's Battery' was built after this event to defend Mangalore against any other attack of the British fleet. In front of the battery there was most likely an opening of the bar into the sea.

CHAPTER VIII

MANGALORE AND THE OUTER WORLD

During the reign of Tipu Sultan Mangalore had trade relations with foreign countries. They were most systematically carried on. The government paid great attention to the needs and requirements of the people.

In a letter of Tipu to the aumils, actual and future, of the port of Kurial, dated January 16th, 1786, the Sultan says: "Be it known, that if after selling to the agents of the refuse of commerce, Mao Saith etc., such rice as we may have to dispose of, the aforesaid agents should be desirous of purchasing a further quantity of that article from the inhabitants of the districts appertaining to Mangalore, it will be well. You must not forbid, or make any opposition to the same."¹

Mao Saith, of whom the Sultan speaks in this letter, was the Dalal of Muskat. In fact since Mangalore was the only emporium on the coasts of his kingdom, all trade beyond seas had to be carried on through Mangalore.

In his letter to Ghulam Mahomed, the aumil of Mangalore, Tipu writes that he is to sell rice to every merchant from Muskat who gets a chitty (or certificate) from Mir Kazim, and that he should forward information concerning the rock salt, sent by Mir Kazim, and should also send a sample.² Tipu himself seems to have been interested in the trade at the port of Mangalore. In another letter of his to Mir Kazim, dated 24th of April, 1786,

¹ Kirkpatrick, *Select Letters*, Letter CCV, p. 232.

² Ibid., Letter CCCIX, p. 154.

he gives the following orders to his trade Superintendent at Muskat. "Send some young date trees, with persons skilled in the management of them, to the Presence. Buy all the sulphur you can, and loading it on our vessels despatch the same from time to time... You must take care and sell the sandalwood, black pepper, rice and cardamoms belonging to us, to the best advantage, sending an account of your sale and purchases, regularly to Ghulam Mahomed. Saffron is the produce of Persia, procure and send us some of the seed of it. Get the Dalal (broker) to write to his agents to different places to collect silk worms and the persons acquainted with the manner of rearing them; and let them be despatched to us. Procuring moreover some (pearl) divers from Bahrein and Hoormuz; and making them whatever advances they may require for their expenses, despatch them hither, together with their families. Sending likewise to Rustakh, and getting from thence five large asses, despatch them to us."¹ In the same letter Tipu declares that "the factory of Muskat is placed under the authority of Ghulam Mahomed, the Aumil of Mangalore."²

By a letter of João Tavares de Almeida, Governor General of Portuguese India, dated March 28th, 1776, we are made aware that Hyder Ali had intended to build a number of ships not only at Mangalore, but also at Barsalore (Basrur), Honor (Honawar) and Calicut. For this he requested Tavares to send some carpenters and ship builders. The governor foreseeing that Hyder's schemes might prove fatal to Portuguese commerce did not give him any definite reply. But the sovereign of Mysore managed to obtain

¹ Ibid., Letter CCLVIII, p. 282.

² Ibid., p. 282.

those workmen from the Dutch governor of Cochin.¹ In fact when Fr. Paulino de S. Bartolomeo passed through Mangalore during the reign of the same Hyder Ali, he saw there two frigates or war ships.² This undertaking was carried on by Tipu Sultan as well. From the latter's letter to Mir Kazim, mentioned above, we can deduce that the work was still going on in Mangalore. For he asks Mir Kazim to send four or five carpenters from Muskat, advancing them whatever money they might require for their expenses. The Sultan himself says that "the carpenters at Muskat construct very excellent Dows and Dingies."³ When some years later the British army took possession of Mangalore, they found in the harbour three big vessels with 50 or 60 canon each, besides several unfinished ships of different sizes. Moreover there was stored a good deal of materials to equip a fleet.⁴

The importance of the port of Mangalore can be gauged from the fact that in 1786 Tipu's embassy to Constantinople set sail from this port. The Sultan mentions in one of his letters two of these ambassadors Gulam Ali Khan and Shah Noorulah.⁵ In January of the year 1798 another embassy to the French at the Isle of France embarked from Mangalore. It was favourably received by the French government in Port Nord Ouest, and after concluding an offensive and defensive alliance with France it returned to Mangalore on the 26th of April, 1798, on board the frigate *La Prencuse*.⁶

¹ Appendix, No. 26. It gives us great pleasure to express our gratitude to Prof. P. Pissurlenkar for his kindness in sending us this extract from the Goa Archives.

² Fr. Paulino da S. Bartolomeo; *Viaggio*, p. 102.

³ Kirkpatrick, *Select Letters*, Letter CCV, p. 238.

⁴ Michaud, *Histoire de L'Empire de Mysore*, I, p. 98.

⁵ Kirkpatrick, *Select Letters*, Letter CCLVIII, p. 283-4.

⁶ Salmon, *A Review of the Origin, Progress, and Result of the War with Tipu Sultan*, Appendix (A); Beatson, *A View of the Origin and Conduct of the War with Tipu Sultan*, p. 5-7.

After the fall of Seringapatam on the 4th of March, 1799, and the partition of the kingdom of Tipu, a detachment from the Bombay army under Lieutenant Wiseman took possession of Mangalore without opposition ; and the whole of Kanara, with the only exception of Jamalabad, submitted to the authority of the British government.¹



¹ Beatson, *o. c.*, p. 248-9.

CHAPTER IX

THE KANARA CHRISTIANS

The relations between the Muhammadan usurpers of Mysore and their Christian subjects are of such high importance that they form by themselves a chapter in the annals of the history of Mangalore. For this reason we devote a separate section to the story of the Kanara Christians, which chronologically considered should follow the siege of Mangalore by Tipu Sultan in 1783.

Though Christianity was first introduced into Kanara by the early Franciscan Friars, both history and tradition proclaim that the majority of the Kanara Christians came from Goa. According to Mr. Michael Noronha, who has contributed a series of articles to the "Mangalore Mail" on the origin and history of the Catholic Community of Kanara, the Gaudi Christians were probably among the people converted by the Franciscans in Kanara.¹ The reasons why the Konkani Christians had to leave the land of their birth were very acute. Goa frequently suffered from famines, and the years 1553, 1570 and 1682 were seasons of great scarcity. In 1570, as mentioned above, Goa was besieged by Adil Shab who had formed a strong coalition with other Indian sovereigns to expel the Portuguese from India. In the same year the city was afflicted with cholera of the most virulent type followed by famine. The country around Goa was also subjected to the evils consequent on the invasion of the Muhammadans.²

¹ We do not agree with Mr. Noronha's view. The Gaudi Christians of Kanara could also have come from Goa with the other Christians of Mangalore. There are still in Goa a considerable number of Gaudi Christians.

² Fonseca, *Sketch of the City of Goa*, p. 169-170.

Later on, in the 17th century, the struggle of the Dutch with the Portuguese for the supremacy of the Indian seas brought about the decline of the Portuguese power. "The struggle," says Fonseca, "lasted for sixty-nine years, at the end of which period the Empire was completely shattered and dismembered; most of the Portuguese possessions fell into the hands of the enemy; and their once flourishing commerce was seriously crippled."¹ An epidemic fever afflicted the city of Goa in 1635 with unprecedented violence, spreading devastation all around and adding to the misery of the people.

In 1683, the Marathas who were plundering and pillaging the Dekkan, extended their incursions to the Konkan and attacked the territory of Goa, striking terror and dismay into the inhabitants.²

These calamities could not but influence the destinies of Goa. The country was naturally affected, and the government with an empty exchequer could not deal with this deplorable state of things in an effective manner.

Another cause, besides, served as an impulse for the people to leave the country. Goa was suffering from an acute population problem. Agriculture was the main industry in Salsette, and "for upwards of two centuries it met with little or no encouragement from the government, but continued to demand, as heretofore, the solicitude of the village communities... As the lands subjected to cultivation were, however, limited in number, the production was always found to be insufficient for the maintenance of the entire population of the country, which was besides now and then visited by a famine."³

¹ Ibid., p. 169.

² Ibid., p. 26.

³ Ibid., p. 173.

These combined calamities must have naturally led the people to flee from their homes, and they flocked to Kanara, where their industrious habits must have induced the local chiefs to welcome them with open arms.

The Konkani language, the customs and habits, some national games and, above all, the identical caste system which are common to the Christians of both Goa and Kanara, lead us to conclude that the original Christians of Kanara emigrated from Goa.

Under the rulers of Ikery these Christians were very numerous and in a prosperous condition. Sivappa Nayaka in the first half of the 17th century gave license to the Carmelite missionaries to build three Churches in different places.¹ Fr. Giuseppe di Santa Maria, a Carmelite Friar, who passed through Kanara in 1656-57 on his way to Malabar, says that a Jesuit Father, named Spinola, was the priest of 6,000 Christians scattered throughout the kingdom of Sivappa Nayaka. "The King," says he, "though a gentile is extremely kind and evidently inclined to our religion."²

This development of the Christian community in Kanara demanded the appointment of a Bishop, and in 1674, on the representation of the Carmelite Fathers of Verapoly, the Holy See nominated Fr. Thomas de Castro, a Theatine Indian priest, as Vicar Apostolic of Kanara and Malabar. He built the original Milagres Church of Mangalore and obtained a grant of land in the city from Queen Chennamai, a successor of Sivappa Nayaka. He died in 1684, leaving his Vicar-General as administrator of the diocese. At the latter's death in 1700 Kanara was once again placed under the jurisdiction of Goa.³

¹ Giuseppe di Santa Maria, *Prima Spedizione*, p. 181.

² Ibid.

³ Cf. *History of the Diocese of Mangalore*, p. 27-34.

In 1759, as already stated, Kanara fell into the hands of Hyder Ali, and the same happy relations between this monarch and his Christian subjects continued till the end of his reign. The writer of the *History of Hyder Shah* says that Rana Bidnoor, the capital of the kingdom of Kanara "contains sixty thousand souls, among whom are about 30,000 Christians, who have great privileges."¹ Hyder was not a bigoted Muhammadan like his son Tipu, and his tolerant attitude can be perceived from his treaty with the Portuguese, quoted above, where he allows the missionaries to preach the Gospel in his kingdom, and to administer justice to the Christians.² In 1766 he had issued another *parvaza*, granting 2,440 fanams yearly to the Roman Catholic Church at Calicut together with the property belonging to it and to the Church at Parappanangadi. By this document Hyder Ali gives jurisdiction to the priests over Christian criminals. "Every one of the Christians," says he, "that may commit any guilt or crime, the justice thereof belongs to the Padre and the Factor."³ During his reign there was a seminary in Mangalore (or in its vicinity) for the training of indigenous priests of which Fr. João de Miranda was the director. This zealous missionary had gained for himself the affection and esteem of Hyder, under whose flag he could peacefully carry on his mission.⁴

1 M. M. D. L. T., *History of Hyder Shah*, p. 82.

2 Appendix, No. II.

3 Logan, *A Collection of Treaties*, p. 70-71.

4 Fr. Paulino da S. Bartholomeo, *Pinggio*, p. 102.

CHAPTER X

THE CAPTIVITY AT SERINGAPATAM

Hyder Ali died in 1782 and the period of his son's rule, from 1784 to 1799 is the darkest in the history of the Christian community of Kanara. It witnessed their captivity and sufferings and sad apostacy. The cause of their captivity is evident from Tipu's own memoirs. It was due to his unaccountable fanaticism and bigotry. We give here the extract verbatim.

"The Portuguese Nazarenes established themselves about three hundred years ago, in a factory situated near the seashore and on the banks of a large river. This place, they obtained of the Rajah of Soondah (Sunda), under the pretext of trading (with his subjects), and here awaiting themselves of the opportunities which arose in the course of time, they acquired possession of a territory, yielding a yearly revenue of three or four lacks of rupees, throughout which they equally prohibited fasts and prayers among the Mussulman inhabitants, and the worship of idols among Hindoos; finally expelling from thence all who refused to embrace their religion, which the Hindoos were required to do within three days, under pain, if they remained in the country after that time, of being forcibly converted to it. Some of the people alarmed at this proceeding abandoned their property and homes, and took refuge in other countries but the greater part, considering the danger as improbable and not possessing means of removing their effects, preferred remaining; whereupon these infidel Nazarenes, at the end of the appointed time, obliged

them all to embrace their false religion. Some time after this, by means of gifts and presents distributed among the Rajahs and Aumils of that quarter, they were suffered to erect from eighty to hundred idol temples in the countries of Nugr (Nagar), Soonda (Sunda) and Kurial-Bunder (Mangalore), in each of which they placed a Padre or two, whose religion in fact was that of the Guebres (the ancient Parsees, or worshippers of fire); and by whose means they prevailed, partly by artifice, and partly by tempting the avarice (of the poorer classes), on vast numbers of the inhabitants to adopt their faith. (Such was the state of things here) when, by the divine favour, and through the aid of the Asylum of Prophecy, and with the help of the conquering Lion of God, the port of Kurial fell into our hands."¹

In this long quotation from his memoirs, Tipu is very inexact regarding the historical details he mentions. For instance the place on the seashore, where the Portuguese built their factories—and by which, of course, it is clear he means Goa—was certainly not obtained by them from the Rajah of Sunda, but was conquered from the Sultan of Bijapur. Then again the forcible conversions attributed to the Portuguese by the bigoted Sultan, and even now cackled out by some no less bigoted pseudo-historians, have no historical foundation whatsoever. Suffice it to say that if the Portuguese ever had recourse to such a policy it would have been impossible to find Hindus in Goa, and more so in government offices. But it is clear from the treaties which we have added in our appendix that the Portuguese government not only allowed them to live

¹ Kirkpatrick, *Select Letters*, p. 376.

in peace, but even employed them for the most coveted offices, such as ambassadors and the like.¹

We have said above that in persecuting this poor community of peaceful and unoffending Christians, Tipu was actuated by no other motive than by his bigotry. On the occasion when Mangalore fell into his hands, "the odious proceedings of these accursed padres," says he, "becoming fully known to us, and causing our zeal for the faith to boil over, we instantly directed the Diwan of the Huzoor Kucherry to prepare a list of all houses occupied by the Christians, taking care not to omit a single one."

The officers concerned accordingly submitted a detailed report on the subject. Thereupon detachments under trusty officers were stationed in all places inhabited by the Christians, with sealed orders to be opened and executed on the same day, at the hour of the morning prayer. In conformity with these instructions "our orders," continues Tipu, "everywhere were opened at the same moment; and at the same hour (namely, that of

1. In this connection we may give here a succinct account of the religious policy of the Portuguese, so far as the propagation of Christianity is concerned. From a letter of King John III of Portugal to his Viceroy Dom Joao de Castro, written in 1546, we can deduce that till this date "pagan temples were suffered and frequented both in public and in private." And even an allowance of 3,000 pardnos was made over to a mosque. In order to abolish idolatry in his dominions, the King proposes the following mild measures that "the heathenish sports shall be abolished and the Brahmins not in the least encouraged... And, considering that the pagans may be brought over to our religion not only by the hopes of eternal salvation, but also by temporal interests and preferments, you shall for the future not bestow any offices, or any other places in the custom's-house (as has been practised hitherto) upon the heathens, but only upon the Christians." Finally the Portuguese sovereign ends his letter with the following recommendations that outline the whole religious policy of the Portuguese in India: "We could also wish with all our heart that idolatry might be banished out of Saisetis and Bardes, but in this matter you should proceed with caution, for fear of exacerbating the minds of the people; which end may be most conveniently obtained, by showing them with all imaginable mildness, their gross errors, and how instead of the true God, they pay their devotion to insensable images and idols. For the same reason you shall not neglect to confer with their principal men upon this head, and to encourage such as embrace Christianity by your favour, presents and otherwise. It is our will, that a peculiar regard shall be had to this one letter, and the contents thereof punctually observed." *Baldus, A True and Exact Description*, p. 646-7.

morning prayer) the whole of the Christians male and female, without exception of a single individual, to the number of 60,000 made prisoners and despatched to our presence." They were divided into battalions of 500 each, named Risalas, and placed under the command of Muhammadan officers. Of these, four battalions stationed at Seringapatam and in the surrounding country were forced to become Muhammadans, or as Tipu himself says, "were ultimately admitted to the honour of Islamism."¹

Abbe Dubois, a missionary who was on this occasion at Seringapatam, also says in his letters that the whole body of the Christians captured by Tipu were circumcised,² whereas James Scurry, who was at Seringapatam for a long time as a prisoner, says that only those who were able to carry arms were circumcised.³

He is of opinion that the imprisonment of the Kanara Christians was at least partially due to the pecuniary help rendered by them to the English. Having related the tragic end of General Mathews, Scurry adds in a foot-note that it was he himself who read what was inscribed on the pewter plates or dishes, and holds himself responsible for their subsequent sufferings. General Mathews had written that he had borrowed 330,000 rupees from the Malabar Christians;⁴ and had requested any one who happened to read it, to make it known to the President and Council in any of the presidencies.

Speaking of the treatment given to the Christians of Kanara, the same author notes :

¹ Kirkpatrick, *Select Letters*, p. 52-3. The account of the seizure of the Christians as related by Tipu agrees with that of Dubois, *Letters*, p. 74.

² Dubois, *Letters*, p. 74.

³ Scurry, *Captivity*, p. 103.

⁴ The Christians of Kanara are here called Malabar Christians, James Scurry using the term Malabar in the wider sense of the West Coast.

"Now followed the fate of the poor Malabar Christians of which I shall ever consider myself to be the innocent cause, in reading what was written by General Mathews . . . Their country was infested by Tipu's army, and they were driven to the number of 30,000 to Seringapatam, where all who were able to carry arms were circumcised and formed into four battalions. The sufferings of these poor creatures were most excruciating. One circumstance which came to my immediate notice I will attempt to describe. When recovered they were armed and drilled and ordered to Mysore, nine miles from the capital, but for what purpose we never could learn. Their daughters were many of them beautiful girls, and Tipu was determined to have them for his Seraglio, but this they refused, and Mysore was invested by his order, and the four battalions were disarmed and brought prisoners to Seringapatam. This being done, the officers tied their hands behind them. The Chambars or Sandal-makers were sent for and their noses, ears, and upper lips were cut off; they were then mounted on asses, their faces towards the tails, and led through Patam (Seringapatam), with a wretch before them proclaiming their crime. One fell from his beast, and expired on the spot through loss of blood. Such a mangled and bloody scene excited the compassion of numbers, and our hearts were ready to burst at the inhuman sight. It was reported that Tipu relented in this case, and I rather think it true, as he never gave any further orders respecting their women. The twenty six that survived were sent to his different arsenals, where after a lapse of a few years I saw several of them linger out a most miserable existence."¹

¹ Scurry, *Captivity*, p. 99-103.

We know, moreover, that not all the Christians were deported to Seringapatam. It seems that some were left in their homes and they liberated their fellow Christians, whom they bought as slaves. Both facts are hinted at in the memorial of the Christians of Kanara to the Archbishop of Goa, published in our appendix. They say that they had the misfortune to see their families sold by order of Tipu Sultan "some to the Christians and others to the pagans."¹

There is a considerable discrepancy among the writers in giving the actual number of Christians kidnapped by Tipu. Tipu himself, as we have seen, puts down the number as 60,000. Abbe Dubois gives the same number.² Mr. L. B. Bowring however seems to doubt this figure.³ According to Ch. Stewart, it is 70,000.⁴ Scurry says that the Malabar Christians carried away to Seringapatam were about 30,000 including men, women and children.⁵ Colonel Wilks in his *Historical Sketches of South India*, regards 30,000 as the true number.⁶ James Bristow, who was also a prisoner like Scurry, says that the Christians deported consisted of "40,000 unfortunate wretches, men and women and children, forced away from the Bednore and Mangalore countries."⁷

Amidst this confusion, we think it advisable to fall back upon the figure mentioned by Tipu Sultan and supported by Abbe Dubois, two different persons coming

¹ Appendix No. 14.

² Dubois, *Letters*, p. 74.

³ Bowring, *Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan*, p. 126.

⁴ Stewart, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Library of Tipu Sultan*, p. 52.

⁵ Scurry, *Captivity*, p. 103.

⁶ Wilks, *Historical Sketches of Southern India*, II, p. 530.

⁷ Bristow, *A Narrative*, p. 85.

from opposite camps. Moreover Abbe Dubois, being the missionary at Seringapatam and as such knowing all that was going on in the capital, deserves our credit. "I have it on good authority," says he, "that the aggregated number of the persons seized in this manner amounted to more than 60,000."¹ Finally the statement of the Sultan himself lends authenticity to the view. Hence we may conclusively affirm that the number of Christians carried away by Tipu Sultan is approximately 60,000.



¹ Dubois, *Letters*, p. 74.

CHAPTER XI

BACK AT HOME

After the fall of Tipu Sultan most of the Christians deported to Seringapatam returned to their country. As they had been converted, or rather perverted, against their will, they went to their priests and got themselves reconciled to the Church, "saying that their apostacy had been only external, and they always kept in their hearts the true faith in Christ." Dubois adds that he reconciled 2,000 of them.¹ But when they came to Kanara, they found themselves homeless; because their lands and houses had been taken possession of by others. Nearly 20,000 returned to the Mangalore district, according to Dubois.² As they were in such a sad state of abject poverty and distress, they sent a memorial to both the Archbishop of Goa and the Bishop of Mylapore requesting them to interest the British authorities in their favour. The originals of both the memorials may be seen in the appendix.³ We are giving here the full translation of the memorial to the Bishop of Mylapore:—

"Reverend Sir,

"It is well known in the whole of Asia and in some parts of the globe that the Roman Catholics suffered great oppression and hardships in the time of the tyrannical dominion of Tipu Sultan in the Kingdom of Kanara on

¹ Ibid., p. 75.

² Ibid.

³ Appendix Nos. 12 and 14. Our thanks are due to the Right Rev. Mgr. A. M. Telzeyrin, the Administrator of the Diocese of Mylapore, Madras, and to his Secretary, Mgr. F. Carvalho, in giving Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S. J. access to the Archives of the Diocese. Through their kindness he was able to find these documents relating to the Christians of Kanara, which were eventually of great use to us in writing the history of these Christians.

account of the unparalleled hatred he had conceived against them on account of their religion; he went so far as to deprive them of all their property, and finally by the effects of the tyranny, he transported all of them with their families to the Pattana.

"At the time of this captivity, which they acknowledge as a punishment from God for their sins, all their estates were sold, some to Christians; and others to Hindoos; but God through his infinite mercy having compassion on their miserable state restored them to their country by the help of the powerful British government.

"They being in extreme poverty, in consequence of their having been deprived of their property, appeal most humbly to your Lordship who is their pastor and prelate, to obtain the same properties from His Excellency the Governor and President in Council of Madras, on condition that they will prove their right over them and pay the same amount as was paid by the present owners to the then reigning Tipu Sultan, besides another sum for the improvement of the same properties according to the opinion of expert agriculturists."

The request of the Christians, as it is evident from the memorial, was not exorbitant, considering the fact that they were ready to pay the cost of their properties. In fact the request was only to force the owners of their properties to sell them to the former legitimate lords. Accordingly the Bishop of Mylapore wrote the following letter to the Governor of Madras:—

"Honourable Sir,

"As a prelate and pastor of religion I am bound by my divine office, not only to teach the doctrine and the precepts of the Gospel to the people whom Divine

Providence has entrusted to my care, but likewise to protect them, from every oppression they may undergo owing to the tyranny of their superiors, before the higher authorities who are empowered to defend them. Hence I am led to place before the respectable presence of your Excellency the memorial of the Christians of the South, residing in the kingdom of Kanara, which has been remitted through their procurators.

"The justice of the case and especially the kindness, piety and rectitude of your Excellency and your Honourable Council encourage me to appear as the intercessor of these miserable Christians, who have been tyrannically despoiled of their properties through the hatred of Christian religion, and who are at present destitute of every means to recuperate them, except through the powerful authority of your Excellency. I hope they will obtain from your Excellency their old properties, which will be the complement of their liberty, since they through God's infinite bounty were freed from captivity and taken back to their country by the potent arm of the British Nation.

"For this grace so worthy of the greatness of your Excellency, I shall always pray that God may bestow upon you those gifts that are the main objects of man's happiness."¹

The letter of the Archbishop of Goa to the Governor of Madras is also published in the appendix.²

From the date given in the original of this letter, we know it was written in the month of August, 1803. Edward Lord Clive, the Governor of Madras, resigned his office on the 30th of the same month.

¹ Appendix No. 13.

² Appendix No. 15.

It seems that the Kanara Christians had presented another petition to the same effect to Major T. Munro three years previous to this date. And if we are to believe the *History of the Diocese of Mangalore*, Mr. J. G. Ravenshaw, Munro's successor as Collector in the southern division of the Kanara district, "was very indignant when he came to know" of the memorial sent to Madras. The final result of these petitions was not altogether successful. According to the tradition kept among the Christians of Mangalore, the measures proposed to the Government by Mr. Ravenshaw were not fully carried out.¹

Our task is now over, though we feel sure that it has not been exhaustive. Nevertheless we hope it will be welcomed by our many Mangalorean friends, as a fitting souvenir of the happy days passed in their midst.

¹ *History of the Diocese of Mangalore*, p. 53-59.

APPENDIX

No. 1.

Letter of the Portuguese Viceroy to the King

GOA, 29TH DECEMBER, 1616

(An extract)

O Rey do Banguel se conserua ainda contra o Vencatapanaique, mas Vajlhe custando m^{to} grandes contias de dinhr^o q lhe manda, e antes lho quer dar a elle que gastallo em se unir com nosco e pretende q o estado se metta em guerra com o Vencatapa p^o se elle retirar, e ficar então descanssado deixandonos a guerra as costas; e este he o costume daquelles Negoros de que eu tenho muita experienzia porque fui quatro ueses capitão mor de Malabar...

O Vencatapa corre bem con nosco e tambem se vay comtemporisando com elle por respeito da pimenta.

Panjim, Government Archives, *Monções do Reino* N^o. 12,
Anno de 1614; folio 302.

No. 2.

Letter of the Portuguese Viceroy to the King

GOA, 29TH NOVEMBER, 1630

(An extract)

Nas uias das naos do anno passado dei comitta a V. mg^o do estado em que achara as fortallezas de Onor, Barcellor, Mangualor, & Cananor que sao as que

V. Mg^e tem no canara, e tmallauar, e como procurara loguoso reparassem, & em Onor onde estauão dous lanços de muro e hun beluartte no chão estãõ redificados, e em Barcellor não so repairada a fortz^a mas fortificada apouoaram, & em Mangualor se fez a obra que foi necessaria, & em Cananor da mesma maneira conforme o Engenheiro P^o Massay Deixou ordenado a que mandei as fosse e Ver, E mandey cal, e dr.^o para a obra desta de Cananor não parar, & no Cambolim se faz a fortalleza Nova São miguel para o que daqui Vay pedra & cal com muito trabalho, é com gram cuidado estou sobre estas fortalezas, & porque o que tem sucedido, com Virabadarnaique, & terce leuanttado, hum Princ^o Seu, que seu avô tinha prezado mais de trinta annos pede largua Rellaçao a faco em carta particullar, & dou muy miudamente conta a V. Mg^e de tudo, Deus Guarde a Catholica E Real pessoa de V. Mg^e como a Cristandade ha mister, de Goa a 27 de nou^r de 1630.

Ibid., Monções do Reino N^o 14, Ano de 1630; folio 3.

No. 3.

Letter of the King of Portugal to the Viceroy

LISBON, 14TH MARCH, 1832.

(An extract)

Agradeçouos muito o que em carta de 29 de Nouembro de 630 m'auizasteis que hauiais ordenado sobre o reparo das fortalezas d' On(or), Barcelor, Mangalor e Cananor, e uos encarrego demais muito o cuidado e prouimento delles para que estejao sempre bem reparadas e com a artelheria e

maes cousas necessarias a sua defensam e tenho por certo que procedereis nesta materia como pede a m^{ta} importancia de que h() Escritta em Lis a. a 14 de Marzo de 632.

Rey

Ibid., *Mouções do Reino N^o. 16*; folio 68.

Nº. 4

An Instruction of the Viceroy P.^o da Silva to the Capitao Mor^o of Kanara, Luis de Cam^o de Souza.

Instrucción p^o o cap^o mor do Canara Luis de Cam^o de Souza.

Depois de se ter feito O regimento que haueis de guardar na Jornada q ora có o fauor de Deos fareis para aquella cōsta com a cafilla q^e para ella uaj; se offerecio esereuerme a Rainha de Banguel hūa carta em que me pede fauor e ajuda contra El Rey virabadranaq para poder recuperar o que elle lhe tinha tomado, e como não conuem q a nenhum visinho se deixe de mostrar inda q com palaura(s) q mos tem de sua parte, para assy obrigar a todos a q. tenhao com o estado muy boa correspondencia lhe respondo q. lenais ordem minha para a fauorecerdes no q ouuer lugar, mas porque conuem q^e disto não seja por o () se não ressinta el Rey virabadranaq, vos ordeno q^e se esta Rainha vos mandar tratar nesta materia, lhe deis a entender q t(e)ndes ordem minha para a fauorecer no q lhe cumprir, dizendo lhe m^{ta} palauras de comprimento, porem se vos pedir fauor contra virabadranaque ou qualquer outro Rey, vos escuzareis com boas resões

alugando impossibilidades, e q como sois enuiado a carregar e dar guarda as cafilas vos não podeis diuertir a outra Cousa, mas de modo q a naõ desconfieis nem lhe tireis de todo as esperanças de a apedardes e sempre có palauras geerâis que vos não obriguem, aduertindo q esta pratica e recados não sejão por escrito, mas som^{te} de palaura per pessoas q nisso andarem, en esta materia e mas mais de semelhante callidate q^e se offerecerem entre os Reis do (Canara) q como sabeis audão diuisos e em guerras.

Ibid., *Instruções N°. I, 1630-1640*; folio 98.

No. 5.

A Letter of the King of Portugal to the Viceroy

LISBON, 5TH FEBRUARY, 1653.

Conde Sobrinho amigo EV El Rey Vos enuio muito saudar, como aquel le que muito amo. Hauendo mandado encomendar, com encareçimento, ao Conde de Aueiras, por carta de 13. de fev^r de 652., a fortificação, e outros particulares, tocantes a Pouoaçao, e fortaleza de Mangalor, por estar tão rodeada de inimigos, e sobre se hauer de fazer hum forte, em hum lugar que fica padrasto a mesma fortaleza, como tudo vere(i)s da mesma Carta. Responderão os Governadores Vossos antecessores, em outra sua de 20. de Dez^r, do mesmo anuo, que detreninauão encarregar ao Capitão mor do Cabo, e ao ministro que ouuesse de passar ao Sul, que Vizitassem a dita fortaleza, e informassem do que achassem, para o que se lhe daria copia da minha carta, e porque folgarey que se tome

Algúia boa, e breue rezoluçao, Vos hey por muy encomendado, que se senão ouuer ainda feito a diligencia, que auizarão os governadores, a appliqueis, quanto vos for possiuel; e me deis conta do que della rezultar, e do mais que conthem a minha carta, para se poder rezoluer o que mais conuier a meu seruço, e segurança daquelles meus Vassallos. Escrita em Lisboa a 5. de fev^{ro} de 1653.

Rey

Ibid., *Monções de Reino* N^o 23, Ano de 1653: folio 163.

No. 6.

Reply of the Viceroy

Goa, 6TH JANUARY, 1654.

A Pouoacão e fortaleza de Mangalor hé perdida pello apertado serço e guerra que lhe fez o Canarã, como em outra carta desta via dou conta a V. Mag.^{de} Cuja Catholica e Real pessoa Deus guarde. Goa 6 do Jan^r.

Ibid., Ibid.; folio 164.

No. 7.

An Article of the Treaty of Peace between the Nayak of Ikery and the Portuguese Viceroy.

Copia dos apontamentos q fizerão os Gou^{res} Antonio de Mello de Castro e m^o! corte Real de Sampayo, sobre o ajustamento das ditas pazes.

Aos Christãos que vivem nas terras del Rey do Canara, he necesar^o que El Rey do Canarã os obligue a que obedeção nas couzas que tocão a nossa ley aos P^{es}

que andarem no dito Reino, e que os Padres os posoão castigar naquillo que errarem contra a ley. Tambem somos informados que alguns Bramanes obrigão aos Christãos de birem festijar a festa de seus pagodes com saluas de mosqueteria e outras Couzas que nossa ley prohíbe, E assy El Rey do Canará deu mandar que daquy por diante se não faça, e os q fizerem mandalos castigar.

Ibid., Pazes e Tratados N°. I, Anno de 1571: folios 58-59.

No. 8.

**Firman of Hyder Ali to the Governor of
Mangalor**

21ST MAY, 1769.

Traduccam da órdem do Nababo Aidar Ali Cau para Seque Aly Governador de Mangalor em que diz o seg^o :

Ao honrado Seque Aly de Mangalor Governador de Codial faço saber, que entre o Estado de Goa e o meo Sarcar está firmada a paz, e por isto, determino por esta, o seguinte :

Que lhe dê licença para fazer a sua Feitoria neste Porto, na forma, que tinha dantes, Que lhe va contribuindo o arros das Parias no forma custumada.

Que le deixe cobrar as Lagimas conforme o estillo.

Que solte a todos os Christaons, que ahi estão presos. Que lhe pague o que estiver a dever pellas contas do resto das ballas, chumbo, e o mais, que por via de vme^{do} foram compradas com o Estado de Goa no tempo passado. Que lhe faça pagar por Mamo Behari o que justamente estiver

a dever dos quatro centos pagodes, que se diz deve elle do resto da renda das Lagimas. E por ultimo assim o fique entendendo. Escrita em 14 do mez Mohoramo da era Moira de 1183 (21 de Mayo de 1769).

Rubrica do Nababo.

Traduzida por mim Ananta Camotim Vaga Lingua do Estado da India. Secretaria 12 de Agosto de 1769. Ananta Comoty Vaga.

Ibid., Pazes e Tratados № 3, Ano de 1755; folio 249.

No. 9.

**Letter of the 'Pradan' of Hyder Ali
to the Portuguese Viceroy**

1769.

Traduccão da carta de Vencapaya Pradan primº Ministro de Aydar Aly Kan, e Presidente do Rnº do Canara em que diz o Seguinte.

Nobelissimo, e Ex^{mo} escolhido entre os Ilhustres da sua Nasçao possuidor d'alto lugar, e conservador da primorosa amizade, grandioso Snór D. João Josè de Mello Gov^{or}, e cap^m Gn^{al} d'India, etc.

Eu Vencapaya Pradan com a devida veneração, e cortezias de repetidos Sallamos chego a saudar a VEx^a no logro da que posso, e lhe peço que se sirva de ordenar para que se me comunique as boas novas de V. Ex^a.

Vay expedido o honrado Sada Siva Camotim dando concluido o negocio a satisfação sobre o que vinha enviado, e com carta, e Sagoate d'meu Am^o; espero que V.Ex^a se sirva de as aceitar. Desejo quo a nomeação do Feitor

para Mangalor seja na pessoa qualificada, pois da nossa parte não ha de haver falta ao antigo estillo, em cuja attenção queira V.Ex^a permitir que a amizade cressa cada dia a mayor amento: Todaz as mais materias serão a V.Ex^a presentes pelo que lhe expuzer o dito camoty' com individuação, a vista do que so me resta dizer que envio copia para Capitulação conforme a qual sirvase de mandar feita a Capitulação, e me conservar sempre na sua graça — Sello piqueno.

Traduzida por mim Ananta Camotim Vaga Lingoa do Estado da India. Secretaria 12 de Agosto de 1769. Ananta Comity Vaga.

*Ibid., Pazes e Tratados N^o 3, Ano de 1775 ;
folios 242-243.*

No. 10.

Letter of the 'Pradan' of Hyder Ali to the Secretary of the Portuguese Government.

4TH JULY, 1769.

Traducção da Carta de Vencapaya Pradan prim^o Ministro de Aydar Aly Kan, e Prizidente do Rn^o do Canarà, escrita ao Sñr. Secretario d'Est^o da India, na qual diz o Seguinte.

Ao illustre, e generozo amigo grandioso Henrique José de Mendanha Benevides cime, Fidalgo D^r Secretario d'Est^o, cuja amizade seja perpetua.

Eu Vencapaya Pradan com devida cortezia de Sallamo faço esta na posse da boa saude que desfruto atè hoje 29 do mez Safar (4 de Julho de 1769), e espero que Vm' me participe as novas da sua, que lhe dezejo felix.

Sobre a pertenço do negocio de VM^{ces}: a que veyo dirigido o honrado Sadà Siva Comotim, encaminhando eu a sua representação à presença do Magnifico Snór meu Amo obti ordem sua ao estimado Xeque Aly Governador de Coddial (em q. comprehende Mangalor) para o deixar restabalecer na mesma forma que desde antiguidade se achava de posse do estabalecimento, a qual ordem, via da carta do dito Snór e as quatro pessas de roupa de mimo que vierão remetidas da presença do mesmo Snór envio com Vm', que melhor verá da refferala ordem o seu contesto, em cuja conformidade não posso esperar menos da prudência de que Vm' hè dotado, de que faça manter a amizade cada dia a mayor aumento.

Com toda a expecificação tenho significado tudo ao dito honrado Sadà Siva Camotim Ajudante do Lingoa d'Estado que o dispeço, o qual exporà a Vm', ao que dando attenção augmento a amizade.—

Remeto rescunho da capitulação que se deve mandar, em cuja conformidade espero, que Vm' me mande corrente. Em contemplação a amizade de Vm' em nada faltey a tudo o que pude da minha parte neste Sarcar, ou Estado, nem faltarey a estes bons officios; espero, que Vm' não falte igualmente da sua parte, sobre o que escuso ser mais extenso do que pedir tenha me no seu affecto. Sello piqueno.

*Ibid., Pazes e Tratados N^o 3, Ano de 1755;
folios 245-248.*

No. 11.

**Agreement between Hyder Ali and the
Portuguese Viceroy**

18TH JUNE, 1771.

Traduccam do papel junto da Letra Gentilica, assinado, e selado pelo Nababo Aidar Aly Can, em que diz o seguinte.

Lembrança do que da por escrito ao Vice Rei de Goa, em conformidade da Capitulação, pela maneira seguinte, na forma ajustada por Sadasiva Camotim vaga, Embaixador de Goa.

Sello.

2. Que o Estado continue sua Feitoria no Porto de Mangalor, na forma em que dantes tinha, e possuhia, cobrando as Lagimas, e o arroz das Partias conforme a posse antiga. Quanto a este respeito, inviolavelmente se cumprirà.

1. Que todo o Sandalo, Pimenta, arroz, e mais Gencros que produzireem os Dominios do Sarcar, se darà pelos ditos Dominios, para os do Estado de Goa, recebendo esto justo preço. Quanto a este respeito se ordenará para que de boa vontade se compre, e leve arros, e pimenta dos Dominios do Sarcar.

1. Que os Padres Vigarios das Igrejas, terão todas as suas antigas Liberdades e poderão vzar da sua jurisdiçao na administraçao da justiça da Christandade, tudo na forma, em que dantes o fazia: Quanto a este respeito nesta conformidade se comprirà.

1. Que se não pora impedimento da parte do Sarcar a toda pessoa gentia, que de sua boa vontade quizer ser christam. Quanto a este respeito, querendo a ser de sua Liure vontade, se não impedirà da parte do Sarcar.

1. Que o Estado comprirà as suas obrigaçōens, dando socorro da sua Armada na forma do antigo ajuste, feito com o Reino de Bidnur, e para que não fique havendo ignorancia de huma, e outra parte a respeito do seo devido comprimento, se remeterà, pela secretaria do Estado a do Sarcar, huma copia assinada pelo Secretario do Estado, e selada, da antiga capitulaçām feita entre o Estado, e o Reino de Bidnur, para a mesma se comprir de huma, e outra parte inviolavelmente. Quanto a este respeito, se remeta a copia, do que no tempo passado se deo por escrito da parte do dito Reino, para em conformidade dela, poder dar por escrito, pelo Sarcar.

1. Que visto sobre o ponto de pertender o Sarcar, quo se lhe restitua, pelo direito de possuir todos os Dominios do Reino do Sunda, a Fortaleza do Cabo da Rama, e a jurisdição de Canacona, que sendo pertencentes aos ditos Dominios, se achão em poder do Estado, e da parte deste se alegar com fortissimas razoens o direito, que tem pelas anteriores estipulaçōens com o Reino do Sunda, quando esto Rey as possuia, e pelos da Ipoteca da certa quantia de dinheiro, cujas rezoens não só comprehendem a dita jurisdição de Canacona, mas tambem as interias Provincias chamadas Ancolà, Panchamal, se assenta em deixar se este ponto indecizo, e para haver de se tratar mais oportunamente, a fim de que na amizade, se não encontre o mais minimo embaraço. Quanto a este respeito, a Fortaleza do Cabo da Rama, e outras Terras, que ficaó com o Estado, para cumprir ao mesmo Estado. Socorrendo elle sempre ao Sarcar.

7. Por todos saó Sete Artigos

Escrita a 27 do mez Safar da era da Real Aclamaçāo 1185, e anno chamado Ghār aos quinze da Lua minguante

do mez Zerto (treze de Junho, de mil, sete centos, setenta, e hum).

Firma do Nababo.

Traduzido por mim Ananta Camotim Vaga Lingua do Estado da India. Secretaria 21 de Agosto de 1771.

Ananta Camoty Vaga.

Ibid., *Pazes e Tratados No. 3, Ano de 1775;*
folios 254-257.

No. 12.

**Memorial of the Christians of Kanara
to the Bishop of Mylapore**

1803.

Copia do Memorial dos Christaos do Canara p. S.
Ex. Rma.

Exmo. e Rmo. S.

Sendo bem notorias em toda a Azia e fora della as grandes opressoens, e trabalhos no Reyno do Canara no tempo do Tirano Dominio de Tipu Sultan pelo incomparavel odio que tinha concebido contra a Religiao Christaa Catholica Romana, chegando ao excesso de despojar aos Christaos de todos os seos bens, ultimamente por effeitos da sua Tyrania os desterrou para Pattanna com todas suas familias.

No tempo do seo Cativeiro, que reconhecem vindo das maons de DEos em castigo dos seos peccados, forao todas as suas fazendas vendidas pelo mesmo Tipu Sultan humas a Christaos; e outras a gentios e por meyo da Poderosa Nacao Britanica foy DEos servido compadecen-

dose das innumeraveis miserias, e trabalhos, que padeciao restituir estas Povoacoens as suas terras do Canara.

Vendo se agora na ultima decadencia e pobreza despojados dos seus bens, sem terem com que possao sustentar a vida, recorrem com a mais profunda humildade a VEx.R.; como a seo Pastor e Prelado, para que interpondo a sua proteccao co o Illmo e Ex., S. Govern. e Prezid. do Conselho de Madrasta, lhe mande entregar as mesmas fazendas, com a condicao de que mostrando elles que forao os seus legitimos possuidores e satisfazendo nao so a mesma quantia q os actuaes possuidores derao ao Dominante Tipu Sultan, mas tambem todas as benfeitorias, que forem julgadas por arbitros inteligentes da Agricultura, lhes sejaos restituidas.

Archives of the Diocese of Mylapore, No. 1972.

On the cover of the MS. the following title has been recently written: ' 1972—Augosto 1803—Inglez—Copia d'uma carta do Prelado de Meliapur a Governador de Madrasta Outra uma copia da carta dos Catholicos de Canara que foi submettida ao Governador pelo Prelado de Meliapur, pedindo para intervir para lhes fazer justica que estao opprimidos pelo Tipu Sultan destituindolhes de todos os meios.'

No. 13.

**Letter of the Bishop of Mylapore to the
Governor of Madras.**

Copia da Carta p. o Governador de Madrasta.

Ill.. e Ex.. S.

Como hum Prelado, e Pastor nao so hc obrigado pelo seo Ministerio a instruir os Povos, que a Divina Providencia tem confiado ao seo cuidado na doutrina e preceitos do Sagrado Evangelho, mas tambem a protegelos nas opresioens que sente diante dos Superiores, em quem rezide o poder de os libertar, me vejo obrigado a apresentar na respeitavel Prezenca de VEx. o Memorial que os Christaos de Sul existentes no Reino do Canara me remetterao para seos Procuradores.

A justica da Cauza, e muito mais a bondade, Piedade, e rectidao de VEx., e desse Honoravel Conselho me animao a ser protector desta mizeravel Christandade tiranicamente despojada dos seos bens em odio da Religiao Christao, e destituida de todos os meyos de os tornar a recuperar a nao ser a Poderosa Authoridade de VEx.; de quem confio alcancem o complemento da sua liberdade na posse dos bens, que perderao, ja que DEos foi servido por sua infinita mizericordia serem restituudos do Cativeiro as suas Terras por meyo do poderoso braco da Nacao Britanica.

Por esta graca muito digna da grandeza de VEx. teta sempre em mim hum perpetuo Orador para com DEos., rogando lhe conceda a VEx. todas aquellas gracas, que fazem o principal objecto das felicidades do homem.

Deos G. a VEx. m a Pal Et.

Ibid., Ibid.

No. 14.

**Memorial of the Christians of Kanara
to the Archbishop of Goa.**

To His Excellency the Right Rev. F. in C.

Archbishop of Goa Primate of the East.

The Humble Memorial of
the Christians of Canara

Being notoriously known in all Asia and all other parts of the Globe of the oppression & sufferings experienced by the Christians of the Dominion of the King of Canara during the usurpation of that Country by Tipoo Sultan from an implacable hatred he had against them who professed Christianity, which was carried to that (extent) as to deprive them of all their property and finally caused them & their family to be transported to the Sultan's own territories.

At the time of their Captivity they have had the misfortune to see their families sold by order of Tipoo Sultan some to the Christians, others to the Pagans; But since Providence thro his infinite Mercy has been pleased that His Britanik Majesty's Government should be revenged the Jisarit, and your memorialist to be relieved thruly from slavery—so as to enable them to return back to their own country—But as our wretched salvation (is) such, deprived of every means of Subsistence, Ende() us to lay our distressed situation before your Excellency and to implore you to come forward and recommend our Ma() holy case to His Exce. the Right Honble the Gov' in (Council) of Madras and to request their benevolent hand of Privy to attend to it, and to implore for an order to deliver soon the landed property they formerly possessed,

of, after a fair investigation and proof obtained that they were the original Proprietor and that they then will be bound to pay the Taxes, as hitherto paid by others to Tipoo Sultan or as much as His Rictami Epvend. may think reasonable from the proceeds of the lands.—

Ibid., No. 3665.

No. 15.

Letter of the Archbishop of Goa to the Governor of Madras.

My Lord

As a Prelate & Pastor of Religion I am not only bound to administer my function and intrust the flock (which the divine Providence has entrusted to my care in the Doctrine and the Principles of the Sacred Gospel) but likewise to protect them from every oppression which they may experience, and as such I am led to lay their distresses before that power under which consists the means of their relief; under this Circumstances I take the liberty to enclose for the Attention of your Exc. in Council (a copy) of a Memorial that the Christians residing in the Southern provinces of Canara has transmitted to me.

As the justice of the Case so represented by them depends much on the Humanity, Piety and goodness of Your in Council achi es (animated with confidence that Your Ex. will protect this poor Christians) to lay their mournful situation to the attention of Your Ex. and to represent that they were totally deprived of their property & effects by the Tyrant Tipoo Sultan, by the hatred which he entertained against the Christian Religion, and who

are now destitute of every means of subsistence, being deprived of returning themselves to their former situation; But as now the British arms by the blessing of Providence has been the means of redeeming these poor Christians from the (sorrows) of Captivity and to enduce them to return to their own home, I most humbly implore your Ex. in Council that their representation may be taken in consideration & afford them such relief as the merits of the Cause requires.—and in (the meantime) I will at all times in my prayers implore Heaven that Happ(j)ness) & every Blessing may (be bestowe)d in Y. Excellency

I have the honour to be with profound respect

My Lord

Ibid., Ibid.

No. 16.

Extract of a Letter of the Governor General of Portuguese India Joao Tavares de Almeida to the Secretary of State at Lisbon.

GOA, 28TH MARCH, 1776.

.... o mesmo Aidar Ali se move agora a querer tambem fazerse respeitavel por mar, e projectando fazer a construçao de bastantes Palas, alguns Pataxos, e Galvetas, nos portos de Barsalor, de Onor, de Mangalor, e de Calicut, ajuntando nelles muitas madeiras, me fez pedir tambem pelo seu Enviado os precizos constructores, e carpinteiros para lhes fazerem esta obra; () me fui desculpando para

não lhe dar este socorro, porque não poder deixar de ser muito prejudicial ao comercio () e não obstante todas as cautelas que prevesse particularmente sempre conseguiu por seus ocultos (meios) conduzir muitos obreiros ordinarios, movidos da ambição de grandes pagas, e me consta que de Cochim lhe tem mandado o Governador olandez os precizos constructores.



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